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ABSTRACT

This reference grammar is a description of the speech of educated people of the Bangalore/Mysore area of Karnataka State in South India. This particular dialect is used in films and, to some extent, on the radio. The four sections of the book deal with: (1) phonology, (2) the noun phrase, (3) the verb phrase, and (4) syntax. Each item that is explained is accompanied by illustrative examples. A bibliography is included. (AMH)

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A Reference Grammar of Spoken Kannaḍa

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgements ix

1. Phonology 1
1.1 Vowel sounds 1
1.1.1 High vowels 2
1.1.2 Mid vowels 2
1.1.3 Low vowels 3
1.1.4 Other vowels 3
1.2 Consonants 4
1.2.1 Velar consonants 5
1.2.2 Palatal consonants 6
1.2.3 Retroflex consonants 7
1.2.4 Dental consonants 7
1.2.5 Labial consonants 8
1.2.6 Other consonants 9
1.2.6.1 Glides 9
1.2.6.2 Sibilants and fricatives 10
1.2.6.3 Laterals and continuants 10
1.3 Morphophonemics 11
1.3.1 Morphophonemics of Sanskrit loan words 11
1.3.2 Retroflex assimilation 12
1.3.3 Enunciative vowels 12
1.3.4 Consonant gemination 13
1.3.5 Glide insertion 13
1.3.5.1 Glide reduction 13
1.3.6 Vowel deletion/reduction 14
1.3.6.1 Long vowel shortening 15
1.3.7.1 Stop insertion 15
1.3.8 Final vowel raising 15
1.3.9 Vowel replacement 16
1.3.10 Summary 16
Footnotes to chapter 1 17

2. The noun phrase 21
2.1 Gender and "rationality" 21
2.2 Number 23
2.3 The case system 23
2.3.1 The nominative case 24
2.3.2 The genitive case 24
2.3.2.h Summary of genitive forms 25
2.3.2.2 The 'oblique' stem 25
2.3.3 The accusative case 26
2.3.4 The dative case 27
2.3.4.1 Summary of dative case forms 28
2.3.5 The locative case 28
2.3.5.1 Summary of locative forms 28
2.3.6 The instrumental/ablative case 29

2.3.7 The vocative case. 30
2.3.8 Case markers with plurals. 30
2.3.9 Alternate use of case markers. 31
2.4 Postpositions. 31
2.4.1 Postpositions with genitive. 32
2.4.2 Postpositions with dative. 33
2.4.3 Postpositions with accusative. 34
2.4.4 The postposition *kaDe*. 34
2.4.5 Postpositions with adjectival participles. 34
2.5.1 Demonstrative pronouns 35
2.5.2 Other "pro-forms". .36
2.5.3 Case-marked pronouns 37
2.5.3.1 Genitive and oblique forms of pronouns 37
2.5.3.2 Accusative forms of pronouns 38
2.5.3.3 Dative forms of pronouns 38
2.5.3.4 Locative forms of pronouns 39
2.5.3.5 Instrumental/ablative forms of pronouns. 39
2.5.4 Pronoun deletion 39
2.6 Adjectives 40
2.6.1 "True" adjectives. .40
2.6.2 Adjectives derived from verbs. 41
2.6.3 Adjectives derived from nouns and "defective" verbs. . . .41
2.6.4 Color adjectives 41
2.6.5 Nominalized adjectives 42
2.6.6 Demonstrative adjectives 43
2.6.7 Comparatives of adjectives 43
2.6.8 Superlatives of adjectives 44
2.6.9 Quantifiers. 44
2.7 Numerals 44
2.7.1 Cardinal numerals. .44
2.7.2 Ordinal numerals 46
Footnotes to chapter 2. 47

3. The verb phrase 51
3.1 Verb stems 51
3.1.1 Past verb stems. 51
3.2 The infinitive 52
3.3 The imperative 52
3.3.1 Negative imperative. 53
3.3.2 Optative 54
3.3.3 Hortative. 54
3.4 Verbs marked with tense and PNG. 55
3.4.1 Person-Number-Gender markers 55
3.4.1.1 Present tense PNG markers. 55
3.4.1.2 PNG markers of *iru* 'be (located)'. 56
3.4.1.3 Contingent PNG markers 56
3.4.1.4 Past tense PNG markers 57
3.4.2 Present tense marker 58
3.4.3 Past tense markers .58
3.4.3.1 Past of "weak" verbs 59
3.4.3.2 Past of stems ending in a nasal consonant. 59
3.4.3.3 Past of stems with final lateral 59
3.4.3.4 Past of stems with final *y* 60

3.4.3.5 Past of short vowel stems ending in *r*. 60
3.4.3.6 Past of short vowel stems ending in *D*. 60
3.4.3.7 Past of stems ending in *i*. 60
3.4.3.8 Past of stems ending in *o*. 61
3.4.3.9 Past of other irregular stems. 61
3.4.4 Other tenses 61
3.4.5 Examples of verbs conjugated 61
3.4.5.1 "Weak" verbs 62
3.4.5.2 Stems ending in a nasal. 62
3.4.5.3 Stems with final lateral 63
3.4.5.4 Stems ending in *y*. .63
3.4.5.5 Short vowel stems with final *r* 63
3.4.5.6 Short vowel stems with final *D* 64
3.4.5.7 Stems with final *i* .65
3.4.5.8 Stems ending in *o* 66
3.4.5.9 Other irregular verbs. 66
3.5 Participles. 66
3.5.1 Present verbal participles 67
3.5.2 Past verbal participles. 67
3.5.3 Negative verbal participles. 68
3.5.4 Use of adjectival participles. 68
3.5.5 Present adjectival participles 68
3.5.6 Past adjectival participles. 68
3.5.7 Negative adjectival participles. 69
3.5.8 Verbal/participial nouns 69
3.5.9 Negative verbal/participial nouns. 69
3.6 Modal auxiliaries. 70
3.6.1 The modal *beeku* 'want, need, must, should, ought'. 71
3.6.1.1 Other "tenses" of *beeku*. 71
3.6.1.2 *beeku* with 'quotative' *anta*. 71
3.6.1.3 *beeku* with 'emphatics' 71
3.6.1.4 Negative of *beeku*: *beeDa*, *beeDi* 72
3.6.2 The negative modal *kuuDadu* 'should not'. 72
3.6.3 The modal *boodu* 'may, can' 72
3.6.3.1 Negative of *boodu*. .73
3.6.4 Negative contingent *aar-* 'cannot, might not'. 73
3.6.5 The 'optative' modal *-i* 'let'. 73
3.6.6 The 'hortative' modal *-ooNa* 'let's'. 74
3.6.6.1 Negative of *-ooNa*. .74
3.6.7 Table of affirmative and negative modal forms. 74
3.7 Dative-stative or "defective" verbs. 75
3.7.1 Paradigms of dative-stative verbs. 76
3.7.2 "Regular" forms of *sikku* 76
3.7.3 *beeku* in 'appositive' constructions. 77
3.7.4 *iru* indicating possession. 77
3.7.5 *baa* indicating 'knowing' 77
3.7.6 *aagu* in construction with nouns. 77
3.7.7 *hoogu* with transitive verbs. 78
3.8 Verbal aspect markers. 78
3.8.1 Inventory of aspect markers. 79

3.8.2 The aspect marker *biDu* 'completive'. 80
3.8.3 The aspect marker *hoogu* 'completive' 81
3.8.4 The aspect marker *aaDu* 'durative, competitive' 82
3.8.5 The aspect marker *koDu* 'benefactive' 82
3.8.6 The aspect marker *nooDu* 'experimentive'. 83
3.8.7 The aspect marker *haaku* 'exhaustive, malefactive'. 83
3.8.8 The aspect marker *koLLu* 'reflexive, self-benefactive'. . .84
3.8.9 The aspect marker *iru* 'perfective' 85
3.8.10 The aspect marker *-ttaa iru* 'durative'. 85
3.8.11 The aspect marker *aagu* 'finality' 86
3.8.12 Other aspect markers in LK and other dialects of SK . . .86
3.8.13 Negatives of aspect markers 87
3.9 The 'causative' suffix *-isu*. 87
3.10 The 'conditional' suffix *-are* 88
3.11 Verbalizers 88
3.11.1 The verbalizers *maaDu* and *maaDisu* 88
3.11.2 The verbalizer *aagu*. 89
3.11.3 The verbalizer *paDu*. 89
3.11.4 The verbalizers *biDu*, *biiLu* and *aaDu*. 89
Footnotes to chapter 3. 90

4. Syntax. 93
4.0.1 Subject. 93
4.0.2 Predicate. 94
4.0.3 Noun phrase. 96
4.0.4 Verb phrase. 97
4.1 Adjectives 97
4.1.1 Adjectival participles 98
4.1.2 Present adjectival participle. 98
4.1.3 Past adjectival participle 99
4.1.4 Perfect adjectival participles 99
4.1.5 Denominal adjectival participles 99
4.2 Adverbs. 100
4.2.1 Derived adverbs. 101
4.2.2 Sentential adverbs 102
4.3 Interrogatives 103
4.3.1 WH-interrogatives. 104
4.3.2 Reduplicated WH-interrogatives 105
4.3.3 Tag questions. 105
4.3.4 Adjectival use of WH-interrogatives. 105
4.3.5 WH-interrogatives with clitics and concessive. 106
4.3.5.1 WH-questions with *-oo*. 106
4.3.5.2 WH-interrogatives with Vb_1 + *oo*, *a*-word Vb_2 107
4.3.5.3 WH-interrogatives with *-aadaru* 107
4.3.5.4 WH-interrogatives with *-uu* 107
4.4 Negation 108
4.4.1 Finite negative forms. 109
4.4.2 Past negative. 109
4.4.3 Present-future (habitual) negative 110
4.4.4 Perfective negative. 110
4.4.5 Durative negative. 111
4.4.6 Negative of *iru*. 111

4.4.7 Negative participles 111
4.4.7.1 Adjectival negative participles 112
4.4.7.2 Negative verbal participles 112
4.4.8 Negative modals 113
4.5 Quotative verb. 113
4.5.1 Reported speech 113
4.5.2 Direct and indirect speech. 114
4.5.3 Intent. 114
4.5.4 Limit on embedded sentences 115
4.5.5 Obstinate negative. 116
4.5.6 Specific purpose. 116
4.5.7 Other uses of *anta*. 117
4.6 Imperative sentences. 117
4.6.1 Negative imperative 118
4.7 Reduplicatives. 119
4.7.1 Intensification or emphasis 119
4.7.2 Distribution. 120
4.7.3 Enumeration 120
4.7.4 Echo-word reduplication .120
4.7.5 Reduplication of onomoatopoeic forms. 121
4.8 Conditional 121
4.8.1 Future conditional. 121
4.8.2 Conditionally marked aspectual verbs. 122
4.8.3 Conditional of modals 122
4.8.4 Conditional of quotative verb 122
4.8.5 Topics, factives, focus .122
4.8.6 Conditional plus emphatic 123
4.8.7 Negative conditional. 123
4.8.8 Concessive. 123
4.8.8.1 Quotative verbs plus concessive 124
4.8.8.2 Concessive clauses following interrogative pro-forms. . . .124
4.9 Relative clause construction. 124
4.9.1 Relativization of aspectually marked verbs. 126
4.9.2 Relativization of modally marked verbs. 127
4.9.3 Relativization of equational sentences. 127
4.9.4 Complement clauses. 127
4.9.5 Nominalizations 128
4.9.6 Negative relative clauses 128
4.10 Clefted sentences. 129
4.10.1 Optionality of extraposition 130
4.10.2 Clefting and interrogative pro-forms 130
4.11 Clitics 131
4.11.1 Emphatic particle *-ee*. 131
4.11.2 Verificatory *-oo* 132
4.11.3 Dubitative and disjunctive *-oo* 133
4.11.4 Additive-inclusive particle *-uu*. 134
4.11.5 Substitution of *kuuDa*. 135
4.11.6 The clitic *taanee*. 135
4.11.7 Multiple clitics in one sentence 136

4.12 Consecutive action. 136
4.12.1 Sentence conjunction. 136
4.12.2 Manner. 137
4.12.3 Causation 137
4.12.4 Sequential relations. 137
4.12.4.1 Sequential relations with *meele* 138
4.12.5 Delayed sequential relations. 139
4.12.6 Simultaneous action 139
4.12.7 Immediate consecutive action. 139
4.12.8 Prior sequential action 140
4.12.9 Wholly included simultaneous action 140
4.12.10 Illustration of various sequential relations 141
Footnotes to Chapter 4. 142
Bibliography. 143

Index 151

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Kannada, also known in English as Kanarese, is a South Dravidian language spoken by some 20 million people in and around Karnataka (formerly Mysore) State in South India. It is attested in inscriptions as early as the 5th century and its literature dates from the 9th century. The language of this period is Old Kannada; Middle Kannada is said to date from the middle of the 13th century, and modern Kannada from the late 19th century (Andronov 1969:14). Grammarians, both indigenous and western, have studied the various stages of the language and some excellent grammars, particularly of modern literary Kannada (LK), are extant. The spoken or colloquial language (SK), however, has not been thoroughly studied, and in fact no comprehensive grammar of the "standard" spoken language exists. This is the language spoken by educated people in their everyday life, and used increasingly in films, dramas, and in the colloquial portion of novels and short stories. This present grammar is an attempt to fill this gap.

Writing a grammar of a modern spoken South Asian language is not an easy task, since there are few sources available on the subject, and in fact many mother tongue speakers feel the vernacular language is not a worthy topic of study. Yet many people, both linguists and students, want to know what forms are used by educated people in polite conversation, since to speak the literary variety is to sound like a book. We have tried to draw together information about the language from various sources (see bibliography) such as articles, dissertations, grammars of various dialects, and even some grammars of LK. In doing so we have noticed many gaps in our knowledge of SK, and have had to either make our own analysis or consult with Kannada-speaking linguists and other native speakers.

In the presentation of this material we have tried to keep in mind both the professional linguist and the lay person who may have no training in grammatical analysis. We therefore often explain grammatical processes familiar to linguists in terms that may appear somewhat unsophisticated, but in our experience in teaching South Asian languages have been pedagogically successful. Since this is a reference grammar, our primary interest is in getting the facts of the language together, rather than becoming involved in debates about linguistic theory.

The most difficult problem that we have encountered in the analysis of modern spoken Kannada is that of diglossia (Ferguson 1959). Like many other South Asian languages, Kannada exhibits the phenomenon whereby the spoken language differs to a greater or lesser extent from the spoken version of the literary language. In some languages these differences are enough to impede mutual intelligibility, so that illiterates may be unable to understand the literary language when they hear it spoken on the stage, on the radio or other mass media, from the platform, or in whatever other "formal" contexts the literary language is called for. The spoken language, in contrast, is used for "informal" purposes such as in the home, on the street, and increasingly in the dialogue portions of novels and short stories, and in plays and movies. Most "literary" activities are still carried on in a fairly standardized form of the literary dialect, but even here some spoken forms are creeping in and being accepted.

The ways that diglossic languages, including Kannada, may differ in their spoken and literary versions are many, as are the ways that any dialects of a language may differ from one another. One area of difference may be in the phonology (sound system), such that certain sounds found in words in Literary Kannada (hereafter LK) may be absent in the spoken forms. For example, Spoken Kannada (hereafter SK) tends to eliminate, or use less frequently, the aspirated consonants found in words borrowed from Sanskrit or other Indo-Aryan languages (Upadhyaya, 1976:15; Mahadevan, 1968:19-20). Also, some sounds found in "native" Dravidian words, such as the initial *h* of words like *haalu* 'milk', may also be absent in the speech of certain people (especially among non-Brahmins (Bright, 1968:457) and in some regional dialects (Upadhyaya, 1976:16)), or in certain speech contexts. One of the most obvious differences between SK and LK is that SK deletes many short vowels found in LK words (e.g. LK *varuSa* → SK *varSa* 'year').

Besides the phonological differences, there may be differences in the lexicon (words), or in the morphology (grammatical forms) used in the dialects. LK will often tend to prefer Sanskritic or Indo-Aryan vocabulary, while SK may exhibit more words from the "native" Dravidian stock, or loan words from English, Portuguese, or geographically contiguous languages. There may also be differences in meaning of the same word used in LK and

SK. Morphological differences may be found, for example, in the 1st person singular present verb suffix, so LK *barutteene* 'I come' would appear in SK as *bartiini* 'I come'. There are many such differences to be found, and their existence is the primary justification for the conception of this basically SK grammar.

Finally, varieties of diglossic languages may differ in syntax (grammatical constructions) and in semantics (grammatical meaning). Constructions found in one variety may be absent in the other; or one variety may tend to use one kind of construction (to form a conditional clause, for example), while the other variety prefers another. Some constructions may be borrowed from another language into one variety, but will be found inappropriate in the other. A construction used in one variety may even have a different "meaning" or connotation in the other.

Throughout this grammar it is assumed, following modern dialectological theory, that the differences between spoken and written forms of diglossic languages are not hard and fast, and that there is a great deal of fluctuation or variation, especially in the spoken language. We will therefore not speak of one feature as being found in SK and another as holding for LK, but rather of tendencies for SK to do things differently from LK; the assumption being that the differences between the two varieties range along a continuum, from very colloquial, casual, perhaps rapidly spoken forms to highly literary forms which may be found to be used only by pandits. Thus it must be borne in mind that forms given in this grammar may not be acceptable to all speakers of Kannada for all speech contexts, let alone for literary usage.

It is typical of diglossic languages that the spoken form is usually not "standardized" the way literary languages are; therefore there may be considerable disagreement among speakers of Kannada as to what is a bona fide spoken form in a given context. Furthermore, many speakers deny that they use a particular form (even if they actually do use it), since many spoken forms are considered to be too casual or "vulgar" even for polite colloquial usage. This grammar will avoid stigmatized colloquial forms wherever possible, pointing out only how they differ from "standard" usage.

No mention has been made of the subject of regional or "caste" dialects, and the ways they differ from both LK and the SK dialect dealt with here. This grammar is a description of the speech of educated people of the Bangalore/ Mysore area of Karnataka, since that variety of Kannada seems to be accepted by most people as "standard" (although, as mentioned above, diglossic spoken languages are by nature normally unstandardized in any technical sense). This is the dialect that is used in films, and on the radio to a certain extent, and the one which educated speakers from other regions emulate when they want to communicate with people from different areas.

In attempting to outline the grammar of a fairly widespread and acceptable form of spoken Kannada, we concentrate for the most part on this dialect, to the exclusion of most features found primarily in regional varieties such as Halakki, Dharwar, or Mangalore, or in general or localized "caste" dialects. This should in no way be interpreted as a devaluation of the speakers of the latter dialects; and in fact many non-Bangalore/Mysore features may be acceptable in the speech of educated people from other areas.

However, since Mysore is the former capital, and Bangalore the present capital of Karnataka (formerly Mysore State), the Kannada spoken around these two cities seems to have the greatest prestige (as evidenced by its greater acceptability and use in films and radio). Throughout this grammar, therefore, mention is made of other varieties only when significant differences occur. It is beyond the scope of this grammar to catalogue every difference between "standard" SK and all other dialects, either regional or social. For specific features of other dialects, the reader may consult the references to those dialects in the bibliography.

As a convention when citing Kannada forms in the grammar, full forms (forms that are either LK forms or very close to LK, in the sense that few if any vowels or consonants have been deleted, or in the sense that SK forms can automatically be derived from LK forms using the morphophonemic rules we posit) are given in the text and the first time a form is mentioned. After that, shortened forms (with many vowels and consonants deleted) may appear in examples, particularly in full sentences. Substandard (extremely casual or rapid, or "vulgar", "rustic", "uneducated", etc.) forms will generally not be given, but if they are used to illustrate a particular phenomenon, they will be marked with a § (e.g. *baase* (§) for *baaSe* 'language').

In summary, the symbols and abbreviations used throughout the text are as follows:

PDr.	Proto-Dravidian
OK	Old Kannada
LK	(Modern) Literary Kannada
SK	(Standard) Spoken Kannada
§	Non-standard uneducated spoken Kannada
*	An ungrammatical sentence; a historical (proto) form.

Many people have contributed to the production of this volume. My research assistants Theodore Adams and S. Arokianathan were responsible for preparing indices of other grammars, ferreting out obscure sources and in some cases writing first drafts of certain sections. Mr. Adams did much of the typing of the final manuscript, and was responsible for editing major portions of chapters 1, 2, and 3, and for keeping things internally consistent. William Bright offered many helpful comments on chapter 1, and S. N. Sridhar carefully read the whole manuscript and provided us with many useful examples, as well as helpful insights about many aspects of Spoken Kannada. We are also grateful to Azaz Ahamed, R. Amrithavalli, P. Lakshmipathy, Krishna Rao, S. Seetharaaman, Asok Sundararaj, Vasumathi Sundararaj, R. Vaasu, and D. Vasantha for providing many examples and acting as "mother-tongue consultants." Needless to say, none of the above are responsible for any errors or shortcomings of the final product.

Harold Schiffman
Seattle, September, 1979

1.0 Phonology. Kannada, like most other Dravidian languages, has a phonological system that contains a number of significant contrasts not found, for example, in English. The most striking differences are the existence of retroflex (sometimes referred to as "domal" or "cerebral") consonants, and the contrast between long and short vowels. In addition, Kannada also exhibits consonantal contrasts borrowed from Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan, especially the aspirated series, both voiced and voiceless; and borrowed from Indo-Aryan are both retroflex and apico-palatal sibilants.

SK tends to eliminate the aspirated consonants and the sibilant contrasts to some extent; but in many dialects it exhibits consonants such as *f* and *z*, and vowels such as *æ* and *ɔ* (primarily in Urdu or English loan words such as *fiizu* 'fees', *bænku* 'bank', and *lɔyar* 'lawyer'). Uneducated speakers tend to substitute other "native" Kannada sounds for these "borrowed" sounds.[1]

1.1 Vowel sounds. The basic Kannada vowel system consists of five long and five short vowel phonemes. Dipthongs *ai* and *au* also occur, but may be considered to consist of *a+y* and *a+v* respectively. In addition, *æ* and *ɔ* may occur in foreign loan words (see 1.0).

The vowels of SK, along with their equivalents in Kannada script, except for *æ* and *ɔ* (see 1.1.3), are as follows:

		front	central	back
high	short	*i* ಇ		*u* ಉ
	long	*ii* ಈ		*uu* ಊ
mid	short	*e* ಎ		*o* ಒ
	long	*ee* ಏ *ae*		*oo* ಓ *ɔ*
low	short		*a* ಅ	
	long		*aa* ಆ	

The Kannada alphabetic ordering of vowels is: *a*, *aa*, *i*, *ii*, *u*, *uu*, *e*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*. Note that the Kannada letters used for the borrowed sounds *æ* and *ɔ* are those of *ee* and *aa* respectively.

1.1.1 High vowels. The high vowels of Kannada are short *i* and *u*, and long *ii* and *uu*. The front vowels *i* and *ii* are preceded by a trace of a *y* glide, and the back vowels *u* and *uu* by a *v* glide, in initial position following a pause.

i is a short high front unrounded vowel which occurs initially, medially and finally. As with many of the other short vowels, it is lower and more lax in initial and medial than in final position, and even more lax before a geminate consonant. In final position *i* is higher and more tense, but not quite cardinal.

ide [^{y}Iδε] 'it is' *biDi* [bIḍiˇ] 'leave' *illa* [^{y}ɩlla] 'no, not'

ii is a long high front unrounded vowel, and occurs in initial, medial and final position.

ii [i:] 'this' *iiga* [^{y}i:ga] 'now'
niivu [ni:wu] 'you' *iddii* [^{y}ɩddi:] 'you (sg.) were'

u is a short back rounded vowel which is low-high in initial and medial, and high in final position.

uppu [wUppu] 'salt' *kuDi* [kUḍiˇ] 'drink'

Some grammarians describe final *u* as slightly unrounded (Rajapurohit, 1975: 92), but many speakers stigmatize this pronunciation as being too much like Tamil. The amount of unrounding may vary depending on whether it is preceded by a rounded or unrounded vowel.

uu is a long high back rounded vowel, and occurs in initial and medial positions. In final position it is rare, except as the conjunctive particle *-uu*.

uuTa [wu:ṭa] 'food' *muuru* [mu:ru] 'three' *avaruu* [əβɔru:] 'he, too'

1.1.2 Mid vowels. The mid vowels of Kannada are front vowels *e* and *ee*, and back vowels *o* and *oo*. In initial position following a pause, all words beginning with *e* and *ee* in Kannada have an automatic *y* glide before them; and initial *o* and *oo* are preceded by a *v* glide.

In some dialects, the quality of mid vowels is affected by the following vowel; they may be slightly lower if the following vowel is a low vowel, or slightly higher if the following vowel is a mid or high vowel (Rajapurohit, 1975:91-2).

e is a short unrounded vowel which occurs in initial, medial and final position. In non-final position it is generally [ɛ], similar to the e in English 'bed'; finally it is phonetically high-mid central.

elli [yɛlliˇ] 'where' *bele* [bɛlE] 'price'
naaLe [na:ḷE] 'tomorrow'

ee is a long mid-high front unrounded vowel which occurs in initial and medial, but rarely in final position except with "expressive" lengthening of the emphatic particle *-ee*.

eenu [ye:nu] 'what?' *beeku* [be:ku] 'is needed'
illee [^{y}ɩlle:] 'right here'

o is a short back rounded vowel which is phonetically low-mid in initial and medial positions, and mid in final position.

ondu [wɔnδu] 'one' *gottu* [gɔttu] 'is known' *togo* [tɔgo] 'take'

oo is a long mid back rounded vowel which occurs in all positions.

ooDu [wo:ḍu] 'run' *nooDu* [no:ḍu] 'see'
baroo (vaara) [bəro:] 'next (week)'

1.1.3 Low vowels. The low vowels of SK are *a* and *aa*, with *æ* and *ɔ* found in some loan words.

a is a short central unrounded vowel which in initial and medial position is phonetically [ə], like the u in English 'but'. In final position, however, it is low.

adu [ɔδu] 'that thing' *avanu* [əβənu] 'he' *mara* [məra] 'tree'

aa is a long low central unrounded vowel which occurs in all positions.

aagu [a:gu] 'become' *maaDu* [ma:ḍu] 'make' *baa* [ba:] 'come'

ae is a mid-low front unrounded vowel which occurs primarily in loan words, but also in rare instances in "native" Kannada words. For some speakers *ae* would be replaced by *ee* and by ಏ or ೇ in orthography.

baenku [bæŋku] ∿ [be:ŋku] 'bank' *hæge* [hægE] ∿ [he:gE] 'how?'

ɔ is a mid-low back rounded vowel that occurs only in loan words. Some speakers may replace it with *aa* both in SK and in orthography.

lɔyar [lɔyər] ∿ [la:yər] 'lawyer' *kɔfi* [kɔfiˇ] ∿ [ka:fiˇ] 'coffee'

1.1.4 Other vowels. LK has some other vowels, used mainly for representing sounds in certain Sanskrit loan words (such as vocalic [ṛ]), but these are not found in SK.

1.2 Consonants. As mentioned above (see 1.0), Kannada has a "native" Dravidian inventory of consonants, with a superimposed system of aspirated consonants and supplementary sibilants borrowed from Indo-Aryan, and with *f* and *z* borrowed from Urdu and reinforced by English loans. In SK these borrowed phonemes tend to be replaced by similar "native" phonemes (e.g. *f* may be replaced by *ph* or *p*, *z* by *j* or *s*, aspirates by non-aspirates, etc.).

The consonants of SK, with their equivalents in Kannada script, are as follows:

Stops and Nasals

	voiceless		voiced		
	unaspirated	aspirated	unaspirated	aspirated	nasal
velar	*k* ಕ	*kh* ಖ	*g* ಗ	*gh* ಘ	ŋ (ṅ) ಙ
palatal	*c* ಚ	*ch* ಛ	*j* ಜ	*jh* ಝ	*ñ* ಞ
retroflex	*T* (ṭ) ಟ	*Th* (ṭh) ಠ	*D* (ḍ) ಡ	*Dh* (ḍh) ಢ	*N* (ṇ) ಣ
dental	*t* ತ	*th* ಥ	*d* ದ	*dh* ಧ	*n* ನ
labial	*p* ಪ	*ph* ಫ	*b* ಬ	*bh* ಭ	*m* ಮ

Glides, Sibilants, Fricatives, Laterals, and Continuants

	glides (voiced)	sibilants		fricatives (voiceless)	laterals (voiced)	continuants (voiced)
		voiceless	voiced			
pharyngeal				*h* ಹ		
retroflex		*S* (ṣ) ಷ			*L* (ḷ) ಳ	
apico-palatal	*y* ಯ	*sh* (ś) ಶ				
alveolar		*s* ಸ	*z*		*l* ಲ	*r* ರ
labial	*v* ವ			*f*		

The above classification of glides, sibilants, etc. is untraditional in that it includes borrowed phonemes, and classifies all sounds by position of articulation. This the Kannada alphabet does only with stops and nasals. The Kannada alphabetic ordering of the stops and nasals is given in the preceding chart, reading the horizontal rows consecutively; the order of the other consonants (following the final nasal, *m*) is: *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *sh*, *S*, *s*, *h* and *L*.

Alternative transcriptions used by some other authors are given in parentheses; however, we will not use them except where they converge with standard phonetic transcription (in which case they will appear in [ ]). Note that the Kannada letters used for *z* and *f* are the same as those for *j*/*s* and *ph* respectively, sometimes modified with underdots.

Phonetically, all medial geminate consonants are twice as long as a single consonant when following a short vowel; but after a long vowel, they are longer than a single consonant, but shorter than a geminate following a short vowel. Voiced geminate consonants do not usually occur after a long vowel, and voiceless geminates following a long vowel are often the product of some contraction or deletion process, or in a borrowed word.

saaku [sa:ku] 'enough' *cikka* [tšɪkka] 'small'
(short k) (long k)

hookke(§) (← *hoogokke*) [ho:k•E] 'to go'
(half-long k)

1.2.1 Velar consonants. The velar consonants, produced in the back of the mouth with the root of the tongue raised to touch the velum (soft palate) are *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* and ŋ(ṅ).

k is a voiceless unaspirated velar stop, similar to the k that follows s in English words such as 'skin'. The puff of air that follows initial k in English, such as in 'kin', is not present in Kannada *k*.

kelavu 'some' *tiL-koo* 'understand' *maaDokke* 'to do'

kh is a voiceless aspirated velar stop, with a stronger puff of air following the *k* than in words beginning with k in English. *kh* is probably closer phonetically to the k+h sequence in a word like 'packhorse'. *kh* occurs primarily in loan words from Indo-Aryan, and many speakers replace it with non-aspirated *k*.

k(h)aNDita 'certainly' *ṣhank(h)a* 'conch'

g is a voiced unaspirated velar stop, very similar to English g.

gottu 'is known' *vagi* 'wash (clothes)' *beLagge* 'morning'

gh is a voiced aspirated velar stop. It has no equivalent in English, except perhaps in an item like 'pigheaded'. *gh* occurs mainly in Indo-Aryan loan words, and may be replaced by *g*.

g(h)aNTe 'hour' *sang(h)a* 'association'

ŋ is a velar nasal, similar to the ng sequence in English words like 'sing'. In LK it occurs almost exclusively before other velar consonants, and is therefore not considered to be phonemic. In SK, however, it may occur before other consonants as the result of deletion of velar consonants that conditioned its occurrence before their deletion.

heŋgasu → *heŋsu* 'woman' *aŋgaDi* → *aŋDi* 'shop'

Also, a non-velar nasal may become ŋ if it comes to precede a velar consonant as the result of the deletion of some other sounds (Bright, 1958:5).

nanage → *naŋge* 'to me'

In this grammar we will not adopt an "autonomous phonemic" analysis, preferring to select basic forms which will make the occurrence of ŋ to be always predictable.

1.2.2 Palatal consonants. The palatal consonants, pronounced with the blade of the tongue (or sometimes the tip) raised to touch the hard palate (or even the alveolar ridge), are *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and *ñ*.[2]

c is a voiceless unaspirated blade-alveolar affricated stop, similar to the ch in English words like 'church', but without aspiration. When geminate, the stopped portion of the consonant is lengthened, then released with affrication.

cikka 'small' *yoocisu* 'think' *huccu* [hUt·šu] 'madness'

ch is a voiceless aspirated blade-alveolar affricated stop, not found normally in English except across morpheme boundaries in words like 'witch-hunt', and found in Kannada only in items borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Many speakers substitute *c* for *ch*.

c(h)atri 'umbrella'

j is a voiced unaspirated blade-alveolar affricated stop, similar to the j in English 'judge'. As with *c*, in geminates the stopped portion is lengthened and released with affrication.

jaati 'caste' *raaja* 'king' *ajji* [əd·žiˇ] 'grandmother'

jh is a voiced aspirated blade-alveolar affricated stop, comparable in English only to the cross-word sound as in 'bridge house'. It is found only in Indo-Aryan loan words in Kannada, where it is usually replaced by *j*.

j(h)aaDamaali 'scavenger'

ñ is a voiced nasal, homorganic with a following blade-alveolar stop.

In SK it will here be considered as a positional variant of *n*.

pance [pəñtšE] 'dhoti' *manju* [məñdžu] 'fog'

1.2.3 Retroflex consonants. The retroflex ("domal", "cerebral") consonants, produced with the tip of the tongue turned back to touch the hard palate behind the alveolar ridge, are *T*(ṭ), *Th*(ṭh), *D*(ḍ), *Dh*(ḍh) and *N*(ṇ). These sounds do not have any English equivalents. As usual, in SK the aspirated sounds are generally replaced with their unaspirated counterparts.

Retroflex consonants do not occur in initial position in "native" Dravidian words, but do in some borrowed words.

Toopi 'hat' *Dabba* 'box'

In addition, English loan words containing alveolar t and d are perceived as retroflex by most Kannada speakers, and occur almost always with retroflex articulation.

eNDu 'end' *hooTalu* 'hotel' *Tavnu* 'town'

T is a voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop.

uuTa 'food, meal' *buTTi* 'basket' *g(h)aNTe* 'hour'

Th is a voiceless aspirated retroflex stop, occurring only in loan words.

shuNT(h)i 'ginger' *kaT(h)iNa* 'hard'

D is a voiced unaspirated retroflex stop.

biDu 'leave' *doDDa* 'big' *gaNDa* 'husband'

Dh is a voiced aspirated retroflex stop, occurring only in loan words or in onomatopoetic expressions.

gaaD(h)a (nidre) 'sound (sleep)' *Dham* 'bang'

N is a voiced retroflex nasal, phonemically distinct from *n* as both occur intervocalically, finally, and as geminates.

kaaNu 'seem' *haNNu* 'fruit' *heNti* (← *heNDati*) 'wife'

1.2.4 Dental consonants. The dental consonants of SK, pronounced with the tip of the tongue pressed against the back of the upper front teeth, are *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh* and *n*. The aspirated consonants are, as usual, often replaced by their unaspirated counterparts.

In English loan words, the English inter-dental affricates such as those found in 'think' or 'this' are often perceived as aspirated dentals, and are generally replaced by *th* and *dh* respectively (usually even among speakers who otherwise normally de-aspirate aspirate consonants).

thiŋ ∿ *tiŋ*(§) 'thing' *thænksu* ∿ *teenksu*(§) 'thanks'

t is a voiceless unaspirated dental stop. Unlike English t, which is generally alveolar, Kannada *t* is pronounced with a distinct interdental affricate offset [θ] after the dental stopped portion. This is similar to words in English where th follows an alveolar stop, as in 'eighth'.

tappu [t$^{\theta}$əppu] 'mistake' *hattu* [hət$^{\theta}$u] 'ten'

th is a voiceless aspirated dental stop, occurring mainly in loans from Indo-Aryan, and replaced by *t* by many speakers in SK.

deevast(h)aana 'temple' *kat(h)e* 'story'

d is a voiced unaspirated dental stop. Like *t*, it has an interdental offset [δ] in initial position and when geminate; however, intervocalically and after a nasal it is almost a pure fricative.

daari [d$^{\delta}$a:riˇ] 'way' *idde* [^{y}ɩd$^{\delta}$E] 'I was' *idu* [^{y}Iδu] 'this thing'

dh is a voiced aspirated dental stop, occurring mainly in loans from Indo-Aryan, and usually replaced by *d* in SK.

nid(h)aana 'slow'

n is a voiced nasal which is phonetically homorganic (articulated in the same position) with following consonants, but apico-palatal in other positions (Bright, 1958:4).

ondu [wɔn̪δu] 'one' *pance* [pəñtšẸ] 'dhoti'
nanna [nənna] 'my' *naanu* [na:nu] 'I'

1.2.5 Labial consonants. The labial consonants of SK, pronounced with both lips firmly closed, are *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh* and *m*. (The bilabial or labio-dental *v* and labio-dental *f* will be dealt with below (see 1.2.6.1-2).)

p is a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop. Initially it occurs mostly in loan words, since historically initial **p* changed to *h* in Kannada sometime in the 10th century (Gai, 1946:13).

paapa 'alas' *ippattu* 'twenty' *kempu* 'red'

ph is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop, appearing mainly in loan words from Indo-Aryan, and sometimes in place of *f* in loans from Urdu and

English. As with other aspirated consonants, it is often replaced by unaspirated *p*.

siita-p(h)ala	'custard apple'

b̲ is a voiced unaspirated bilabial stop.

baa	'come'	*habba*	'festival'	*tumba*	'very much'

bh̲ is a voiced aspirated bilabial stop. It occurs mainly in Indo-Aryan loan words, and is usually replaced by *b* in SK. However, in some instances it occurs in Dravidian items, where original **p* has changed to *h* and then is combined with a prefix.

b(h)aaSe	'language'	*omb(h)attu*	'nine'

m̲ is a voiced bilabial nasal consonant.

mane	'house'	*tumba*	'very much'	*amma*	'mother'

1.2.6 Other consonants. Up to now the Kannada alphabetic ordering has been followed in the presentation of the consonants. Due to the borrowing of sounds from other languages, and the lack of a phonetically logical order to the Kannada alphabet from here on (that is, Kannada follows the Sanskrit alphabetic order, with the Kannada sounds that are not found in Sanskrit being added at the end), we depart from this order to present the sounds in a more linguistically sophisticated manner.

1.2.6.1 Glides. The Kannada glides are *y* and *v*. Glides are vowel-like consonants that occur either between two vowels or preceding or following a vowel. In Kannada, unlike some languages, two vowels do not coalesce when they occur together in adjacent morphemes; rather, a glide is inserted between them (see 1.3.5).

y̲ is phonetically similar to *i*.

yaaru	'who?'	*ayya*	'sir'	*payru*	'crop'

When front vowels occur in initial position, *y* is automatically inserted in front of them (see 1.1.1-2).

v̲ is voiced, and is either labio-dental or bilabial. When followed by front vowels (*i*, *ii*, *e* , *ee*) it tends to be labio-dental [v]; before *a* and *aa* and consonants it is bilabial with slight rounding [β]; and preceding back vowels (*u*, *uu*, *o*, *oo*) it is bilabial with stronger rounding [w] (Bright, 1958:5).

viSa [vIşa] 'poison' *vaara* [βa:ra] 'week' *haavu* [ha:wu] 'snake'
When back vowels occur in initial position, they are automatically preceded by a *v* glide, phonetically [w] (see 1.1.1-2).

1.2.6.2 Sibilants and fricatives. The Kannada sibilants are *S*(ş), *sh*(ś), *s* and *z*; and the fricatives are *h* and *f*.

S is a voiceless retroflex sibilant, found mainly in words borrowed from Indo-Aryan.
Sooki 'fashionable' *b(h)aaSe* 'language' *varSa* 'year'

sh is a voiceless apico-palatal sibilant, found in borrowed words.
shabda 'sound' *deesha* 'country' *prashne* 'question'
Bright notes that in some dialects *sh* is replaced by *S* (Bright, 1958:4).
deesha → *deeSa* 'country'
In other dialects *sh* and *S* may be merged, but to *sh*, except in very careful speech, or before retroflex consonants (Bright, personal communication). (In uneducated speech, *S*, *sh*, and *s* may all be merged to *s*).
b(h)aaSe → *baase*(§) 'language' *deesha* → *deesa*(§) 'country'

s is a voiceless alveolar sibilant.
sose 'daughter-in-law' *saaku* 'enough' *sneehita* 'friend'

z is a voiced alveolar sibilant, occurring mainly in loan words from Urdu and English. It is often replaced by *j* and sometimes by *s* in rapid or casual speech.
k(h)azaane ∿ *k(h)ajaane* 'treasury' *Dazan* ∿ *Dajan* 'dozen'
iizi ∿ *iisi* ∿ *iiji*(§) 'easy'

h is usually a voiceless, but sometimes voiced (Bright, 1958:5) glottal spirant, not unlike the h in words like English 'harp'. It is before voiced consonants in clusters that it is sometimes voiced. In some dialects *h* may be completely absent (see preface).
hattu 'ten' *uuhe* 'conjecture' *bahLa* 'very much'

f is a voiceless labio-dental fricative, found mainly in loan words from Urdu and English. Many speakers replace *f* with *ph* or *p*.
maafi ∿ *maap(h)i* 'excuse' *kofi* ∿ *kaafi* ∿ *kaap(h)i* 'coffee'

1.2.6.3 Laterals and continuants. Modern SK has three consonants in this group: *L*(ḷ), *l* and *r*.[3]

L is a voiced retroflex lateral. It does not occur in initial position.

baaLe 'banana' *haLLi* 'village' *biiLu* 'fall'

l is a voiced alveolar lateral.

laDDu 'a sweet' *bele* 'price' *nillu* 'stand' *haalu* 'milk'

r is a voiced flapped or trilled (Bright, 1958:16) continuant, made with the tip of the tongue against the alveolum.

reppe 'eyelash' *nore* 'foam' *uuru* 'town' *karrage* 'blackish'

1.3 Morphophonemics.

Morphophonemics (or sandhi) has to do with changes that occur in sounds when two words or portions of separate morphemes (meaningful units) come together to form a new word, or when they are adjacent in a sentence. The kinds of changes that are possible are:

a. Insertion of some other sound between the two adjacent sounds.
b. Deletion of one or more sounds.
c. Replacement of one or more sounds by another sound.
d. Permutation (re-ordering) of adjacent sounds.

Most of the processes that operate on underlying forms[4] (before morphophonemic rules apply) to produce SK surface forms have to do with coalescence of adjacent vowels, deletion of short vowels, and reduction of consonant clusters formed by these deletions. There are also less regular changes that take place, and some of these will be considered in this section if they are fairly regular. More idiosyncratic processes will be treated as the property of individual morphemes or morpheme classes, and will be handled in other sections (see sections 2 and 3, on the noun and verb respectively).

1.3.1 Morphophonemics of Sanskrit loan words.

Many loan words from Sanskrit into Kannada do not follow the Kannada morphophonemic rules; rather, they use Sanskrit rules. For example:

deeva 'god' + *aalaya* 'place' → *deevaalaya* 'temple'

whereas two Kannada morphemes with the same adjacent vowels would follow a different rule, and appear differently on the surface.

A complete statement of Sanskrit sandhi rules is out of place here. For these, the reader may consult a Sanskrit grammar, or a traditional grammar of LK (e.g. Kittel, 1903).

1.3.2 Retroflex assimilation. When a retroflex nasal (*N*) and a non-retroflex consonant come together, the tendency is for the non-retroflex consonant (especially if it is a dental) to assimilate to retroflexion.

A good example of this process is when the past tense marker *-d-* is added to verbs with stems ending in *N*.

kaaN- 'see' + *-d-* 'past' → *kaND-* 'saw'

In some other cases, a stem-final *L* may change to *N* (by another rule), in which case *-d-* will also retroflex.

koL- 'obtain' + *-d-* 'past' → *koN-* + *-d-* → *koND-* 'obtained'

However, most verbs ending in *L* do not follow the example of *koL-* (see 3.4.3.3; also see Biligiri (1959) and Schiffman (1968) for various attempts to deal with these "irregular" past forms).

1.3.3 Enunciative vowels[5] Many Kannada noun and verb stems end in consonants; but Kannada rules require that all words (except loan words ending in *n* or *r*) must end in a vowel before a pause. For this reason, an enunciative vowel, usually *u*, is added to consonant-final stems before a pause.

naan+u 'I' *kaNN+u* 'eye' *koLL+u* 'obtain'

naan 'bread' (borrowed from Hindi-Urdu, so no enunciative *u* is added)

This addition of enunciative *u* is particularly obvious in borrowed words (which do not end in *n* or *r*), since they often lack a final vowel in the donor language.

bass+u 'bus' *bukk+u* 'book' *Taap+u* 'top'

If the final consonant which occurs before a pause is *y*, enunciative *u* is replaced by *i*.

naay+i 'dog'

When words ending in consonants do not precede a pause, or precede another vowel, enunciative *u* is not present.

avara hesar(u) een(u) → *avar hesr eenu?* 'What is his name?'

(In the above example, short *a* is deleted by another rule (see 1.3.6).)

1.3.4 Consonant gemination. As mentioned earlier (see 1.2), in Kannada there seems to be a complementary distribution (non-overlapping of the environments of occurrence) between morphemes with the structures (C)$\bar{V}$C and (C)VC$_1$C$_1$; that is, geminate consonants do not usually follow long vowels, short vowels are often followed by geminate consonants (except in Sanskrit loan words), and geminate consonants following long vowels are phonetically short.

Because of these distributional facts in Kannada, loan words with short vowels and a single final consonant will usually have the final consonant geminated, and an enunciative vowel (see 1.3.3) added.

kap → *kappu* 'cup' *braS* → *braSSu* 'brush'

All consonants except *r* can geminate in this fashion. Therefore, final syllables of words with short vowels can usually be given with the underlying form (C)VC, and the gemination of the final consonant, plus the addition of enunciative *u*, are taken care of by these rules.

1.3.5 Glide insertion. It has already been mentioned that the glide *y* is automatically inserted before front vowels, and *v* before back vowels in initial position (see 1.1.1-2). These glides are also inserted between two vowels in certain environments in LK, and in slow or careful SK speech.

When words ending in front vowels (*i*, *ii*, *e*, *ee*) are followed by other words or morphemes beginning with another vowel, *y* is generally inserted. (However, in certain idiosyncratic cases, *n* may be inserted instead.)

mane 'house' + *-aa* 'question' → *maneyaa?* 'a house?'

mane 'house' + *-alli* 'in' → *maneyalli* 'in the house'

sari 'all right' + *-aa* 'question' → *sariyaa?* ∿ *sarinaa?* 'all right?'

The conditioning environment for the insertion of *v* is following back or low vowels (*u*, *uu*, *o*, *oo*, *a*, *aa*) and preceding another vowel.

nija 'truth' + *-aa* 'question' → *nijavaa?* 'Is it true?'

1.3.5.1 Glide reduction. In casual speech, the sequences of vowels plus glide produced by glide insertion (see 1.3.5) contract to single long vowels in various ways. The sequences generally are reduced as follows: *iyV* → *ii*;[6] *eyV* → *ee*;[6] *uvV* → *uu*, and *avV* → *aa*.

daari 'way' + *-alli* 'locative' → *daariyalli* → *daariili* 'on the way'

mane 'house' + *-alli* 'locative' → *maneyalli* → *maneeli* 'in the house' *guru* 'teacher' + *-a* 'genitive' → *guruva* → *guruu* 'teacher's'

mara 'tree' + *-an(na)* 'accusative' → *maravan(na)* → *maraan(na)* 'tree (acc.)'

Very few stems end in *o*, so the sequence *ovV* does not normally occur. However, a similar reduction does occur in some cases of the sequence of *ahu*, which is reduced to *oo*.

bahudu → *boodu* 'may'

The above statements need to be qualified somewhat, since there are other sequences that are similar in underlying form, but have different outcomes. For instance, the suffix *-uva* added to verb stems to make adjectival participles, and the sequence *-uvu-* found in LK verbal nouns, reduce to *oo* in our SK dialect, rather than the expected *uu*.

bar+uva 'coming' → *baroo* 'next' *ir+uva* → *iroo* 'being'

maaD+uvudu → *maaDoodu* '(the act of) doing'

This reduction is particularly common in the formation of the habitual and immediate future negatives, where *illa* 'negative' is added to the verbal noun.

baruvudu '(the act of) coming' + *illa* 'negative' → *baruvudilla* → *baroodilla* ' will not come' (which, with further rules becomes *baroolla*, and even *barolla*)

It is evident that the rules governing these sequences have not been fully worked out here;[7] but the rules given here will cover most cases of V+glide+V sequences encountered by the student.

1.3.6 Vowel deletion/reduction. Various writers (e.g. Ramanujan, 1967; Bright, 1970) have pointed out that the most noticeable difference between SK and LK is the deletion or extreme reduction of short vowels in SK when they follow the first syllable of a word. For example, vowel deletion (and consonant cluster reduction (see 1.3.7)) operates on an LK sentence as follows:

LK *ondu uurinalli obba raaja idda* → SK *ond uurnall ob raaja idda* 'in a town there was a king'

In general, most short vowels following the first syllable of a word are deleted; or, if the deletion would lead to the formation of unacceptable consonant clusters (generally three or more consonants together, with a few exceptions), the vowels are reduced to an extremely short sound. In the case of reduction rather than deletion, it is extremely difficult to state a general rule specifying which vowels in a sequence are deleted entirely and which are reduced.[8] In case of doubt, the student is advised to use full or reduced vowels rather than deleting them completely.

1.3.6.1 Long vowel shortening. After glide reduction (see 1.3.5.1), long vowels (particularly when final) are shortened so that they are shorter than full long vowels, but generally a bit longer than short vowels.

irtiiya → *irtii* [^{y}Irtθi·] 'you (sg.) are'

1.3.7 Consonant cluster reduction and assimilation. SK has a rule that operates on the output of the short vowel deletion/reduction rule (see 1.3.6) to reduce clusters consisting of geminate consonants plus another consonant, and clusters of nasal plus homorganic consonant plus another consonant.

iddaru → *iddru* → *idru* 'he was'
toorisuttaane → *toorsttaane* → *toorstaane* 'he shows'
hengasu → *hengsu* → *heŋsu* 'woman'

Also, clusters of laterals plus preceding retroflex or dental consonants assimilate to the preceding articulation.

keeLali → *keeLli* → *keeLLi* 'let (one) ask'
maaDalilla → *maaDlilla* → *maaDLilla* 'didn't do'
iddaLu → *iddLu* → *idlu* 'she was'

(Bright, 1970:143; Nayak, 1967:71-2; Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972:133)

Once again, if in doubt the student is advised to leave in a consonant (and reduced vowel) rather than make an unacceptable deletion.

1.3.7.1 Stop insertion. After reduction of clusters of geminate laterals (*ll*, *LL*) plus *r*, a *D* is sometimes inserted between them.

ellaru → *ellru* → *elru* → *elDru* 'all (people)'
kaLLaru → *kaLLru* → *kaLru* → *kaLDru* 'thieves'

1.3.8 Final vowel raising. In SK, and in some other dialects such as Shimoga, stem-final *e* is raised to *i*. This occurs mainly in verbs, although in Dharwar dialect it happens in nouns also (Bright, 1970:143).[9]

kare → *kari* 'call' (homophonous with *kari* 'fry')
ole → *oli* 'like' (homophonous with *oli* (← *one*) 'shake, winnow')

1.3.9 Vowel replacement. There is a tendency in SK for some short *i*'s to be replaced by *a* (or even by fronted, unrounded *u* [ï]).

bekkin mari   *bekkan mari*

(day) maaDisa (beeku) +.maaDis.+.maaDas..'(You must please) come (in)'

1.3.10 Summary. The above morphophonemic rules apply generally in the language, except where particular application is specified. Special rules that apply only in noun or verb morphology are discussed elsewhere (see sections 2 and 3). Unless otherwise noted, the preceding section relies heavily on Bright (1958 and 1970) for analysis, examples, and rule ordering.

Footnotes to Chapter 1

[1] The best overall statement of the phonetics of SK is to be found in Upadhyaya (1972).

[2] Traditional grammars of Kannada, and modern grammars following the traditional model (Rajapurohit, 1975:95) describe the palatal sounds as "true" palatals; but other descriptions indicate that the palatal stops are phonetically apico-alveolar or blade-alveolar with affricated offset (Sreekantaiya, 1954:548).

It should be noted that for some speakers of Kannada, the affricated portion of the palatal stops is not blade-alveolar, but tip-alveolar. Thus in these dialects, *c* and *j* are phonetically [ts] and [dz] respectively, rather than [tš] and [dž] (Rajapurohit, 1975:95). This seems to be a feature more typical of northern dialects (e.g. Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar); and according to Sreekantaiya (1954:550) the tip-alveolar articulation is found only before back vowels, and before *a* and *aa* medially. Before front vowels, initially before *a* and *aa*, and in loan words (especially in words borrowed without change from Sanskrit, called "tatsamas") the blade-alveolar articulation occurs.

[3] Earlier forms of Kannada had two other continuants, sometimes transcribed as *r̤*(l̤) and *r̲*(R). *r̤*, presumably a retroflex frictionless continuant, merged with other sounds (primarily with *L*) beginning in the 8th century (Gai, 1946:17); while (presumably) alveolar *r̲* remained distinct from present *r* until the 12th century (Narasimhia, 1941:25), although earlier cases of its merger with *r* and even *r̤* are attested from the 8th century (Gai, 1946:15, 17).

No phonetic traces of either of these sounds is now found in our SK dialect, although there are remnants of *r̲* in some dialects, such as Soliga Kannada (Gurubasave Gowda, 1972) and Trivandrum Kannada (Koshy, 1972). Furthermore, a case for distinctiveness might also be made on the basis of certain irregular past tense formations (see 3.4.3.3 and 3.4.3.5).

[4] A statement of the morphophonemics of SK depends very heavily on what basic form we claim for SK words. For instance, if we say that the basic

form for the past masculine singular of the verb *baa* 'come' is *banda* (which is the surface spoken form for 'he came'), then we may be at a loss to explain how it is that when the interrogative marker *-aa* is added to this form we get *bandanaa*. If we assume that the basic form for the past of *baa* is *band-*, and for masculine singular the PNG marker is *-a*, we have to posit the insertion of *n* between the PNG marker *-a* and the interrogative *-aa*. However, if we posit the underlying form of this PNG suffix to be *-anu* or *-an*, we can predict the correct interrogative form *bandanaa*; but an explanation must then be provided for the deletion of *n* in the simple past affirmative *banda*.

Since the form *bandanu* occurs in LK, and is assumed to be the historical antecedent of the SK form, we might want to adopt most LK forms as underlying SK forms, and derive SK forms by positing a set of rules that operate on these LK forms. This is the solution proposed by Bright (1970), Ramanujan (1967) and some others. Previous works, however (e.g. Bright, 1958), Hiremath (1961), Upadhyaya (1968) and Nayak (1967)), proposed that SK and LK are basically unrelated in the sense of having different underlying forms of basic morphemes and lexical items. Others (e.g. Schiffman (1968)) have proposed, for some items in SK, underlying forms that occur neither in LK nor in SK to account for some of the unpredictable forms that occur (particularly in the verb) in SK.

Since this grammar aims at generality, and attempts to account for as much of the variety of different forms found in SK as possible, while maintaining as much clarity as possible, we will adopt underlying forms for SK that give the most reasonable results and help give the best overall picture of the Kannada dialect situation. In most cases (following Bright (1970) and Ramanujan (1967)) we propose underlying forms of SK that are basically those of LK, with a set of morphophonemic rules that derive the proper SK surface forms; however, if another underlying form seems better, we will adopt it.

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[5] A detailed description of the enunciative vowel, and its dialectal variants, can be found in Bright (1975).

[6] It should be noted that in some dialects, for example the Shimoga dialect (Nayak, 1967:72), the outcome of these reductions is different. There

iya → *ee*, and *eya* → $\overline{ae}$, except in final position, where the reduction has the same outcome as does the SK dialect of this grammar.

[7] A factor having some effect on these reductions is the nature of the syllable or phonological boundary between the stem, glide, and the followind vowel. That is, there is no explanation for *guru+v+a* becoming *guruu* while *baru+v+a* becomes *baroo*, other than that the first has a noun and the second has a verb form.

[8] Ramanujan (1967) proposes a rule that deletes all short vowels that occur within certain syntactic constituents. He defines kinds of boundaries between constituents, and ranks them in hierarchical order:

#	sentence boundary
//	major constituent (e.g. noun phrase, verb phrase) boundary
/	complement (e.g. postpositional phrase) boundary
+	adjective boundary
&	morpheme boundary

He then gives a rule (slightly modified here) which allows for the deletion of certain short vowels, depending on the particular type of speech.

$$\text{for speech}_\alpha\text{:}\quad V \rightarrow \emptyset \;/\; (C)VC\_\_ \left\{\begin{matrix}CV\\ \text{boundary}_\alpha\end{matrix}\right.$$

That is, in a given speech form (α), a short vowel is deleted (goes to zero) following a syllable consisting of an optional first consonant, then vowel and consonant, and preceding either a consonant and vowel sequence or a boundary (α) which correlates with the type of speech. Speech forms are related to boundaries as follows: LK concords with & boundary; fairly careful speech with + and &; casual speech with /, + and &; and Northern dialects with all but #.

This rule, along with a consonant cluster reduction rule (see 1.3.7), gives the following outputs for the example sentence given in 1.3.6:

basic form	*#ondu+uuru&-in-&-alli/obba+raaja//idda#*
literary speech	*#ondu+uurinalli/obba+raaja//idda#*
careful spoken	*#onduurnalli/obraaja//idda#*
casual spoken	*#onduurnallobraaja//idda#*
Northern dialects	*#onduurnallobraajidda#*

However, it should be noted that these rules deal only with vowel deletion, and do not assist in determining which vowels are to be reduced if outright deletion of all is not possible because of the formation of unacceptable consonant cluster.

[9] Dharwar dialect also has a lowering rule, "whereby long and short *e* and *o* have lower allophones [æ] and [ɔ] when a non-high vowel occurs in the next syllable" (Bright, 1970:143). Thus when final *e* is raised to *i*, these variants come to contrast with *e* and *o* in the surface phonetics; and this variant is generalized throughout the paradigm, even when a non-high vowel follows.

2.0 The noun phrase. This chapter deals with the morphology (grammatical forms) of the noun phrase, or grammatical variations that take place when nominal elements are combined in various ways. It also treats the semantics of the noun system, especially case. Syntactic relations between noun phrases and other parts of the sentence are dealt with in the chapter on syntax (Chapter 4).

The noun phrase in Kannada, as in most Dravidian languages, is fairly simple in comparison with the verb phrase. Kannada has an indefinite article (but no definite article), adjectives (most of which are derived from nouns or verbs), and nouns of various sorts that take case endings and postpositions. Nouns may be distinguished for gender, "rationality" and number; and in some cases the noun phrase may contain pronouns, numerals, color terms, deictic particles ('this, that, which') and quantifiers ('many, some, all', etc.). These will all be dealt with in this chapter.

2.1 Gender and "rationality". Kannada third person nouns and pronouns are distinguished for gender; nouns referring to biologically female beings are feminine in gender, beings that are biologically male are masculine in gender, and nouns that are not thought to be "rational" (capable of thought) are "non-rational" or simply neuter. There are a few exceptions to this distinction, as some "higher" animals, gods, and some other spirits are included in the category of "rational" beings, and sometimes young children and females are treated as "non-rational".[1]

Among the category of "rational" beings, masculines and feminines *may* be marked with the masculine marker *-(a)nu* or the feminine markers *-(a)Lu*, *-i*, or *-e* (although *i* and *e* are not always to be construed as feminine markers, as indicated below), but not all masculine and feminine nouns are so marked. Pronouns that refer to masculine and feminine nouns do have the forms *-anu* and *-aLu* respectively (see 2.5).

masculine		feminine	
huDuga(nu)	'boy'	*huDugi*	'girl'
sevaka(nu)	'male servant'	*sevakaLu*	'maidservant'
tamma(nu)	'younger brother'	*tangi*	'younger sister'
aNNa(nu)	'elder brother'	*akka(Lu)*	'elder sister'

masculine (cont'd.)		**feminine (cont'd)**	
maga(nu)	'son'	*maga(Lu)*	'daughter'
		heN(Da)ti	'wife'
		atte	'aunt'
		attige	'elder brother's wife'
		sose	'daughter-in-law'

Some examples of masculine and feminine nouns not specifically marked for gender are:

hengsu	'woman'	*ad(h)ikaari*	'officer'
gaNDsu	'man'	*vyaapaari*	'trader, businessman'
heNNu	'woman'	*kuuli*	'laborer'
gaNDu	'man'		

There are also many neuter ("non-rational") nouns that end in *a*, *i*, and *e*. For example:

huli	'tiger'	*baLe*	'bangle'
suuji	'needle'	*kel(a)sa*	'work'
kivi	'ear'	*tale*	'head'

The verb is also marked for masculine, feminine or neuter (see 3.4.1). Generally the marker for masculine is *-(a)anu*, for feminine is *-(a)aLu*, and for neuter is *-adu*; however, these may vary according to the tense of the verb and whether vowels are deleted.

The question of neuter plurals is a difficult one. LK has plural pronouns *ivu* 'these things' and *avu* 'those things', and marks verbs for neuter plural as well. Many of the grammatical descriptions of SK that are available note the existence of neuter plurals, but give very few examples of their use. Pedagogical materials for SK also vary-- Bright states that "the third person form which refers to non-human subjects...refers either to singular or plural" (Bright 1960:86). Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, on the other hand, initially present plural neuter pronouns (1972:21), but do not use them after their initial presentation. When neuter forms are used in subsequent lessons, the plural is omitted.

With neuter nouns and pronouns, the category 'plural' seems to be optional in SK. Many speakers use only singular neuter forms, and feel that the use of plurals is an influence from LK. In this grammar the existence of neuter plurals will be noted in paradigms, but omitted from examples given.

2.2 Number. Kannada nouns are distinguished by two numbers, singular and plural. The singular has no particular distinguishing marker added. The plural marker is usually *-gaLu*, but there are some exceptions as noted below. Neuter nouns are only optionally marked for plural, so an unmarked noun may be either singular or plural in meaning, depending on the context or the intent of the speaker.

erDu mara(gLu)	'two trees'
muuru mane(gLu)	'three houses'
nuuru saarti	'one hundred times'

Masculine nouns ending in *a*, and some ending in *i* referring to names of communal groups, have plurals with *-aru*, as do feminine nouns ending in *i*, *e*, or a consonant (followed by enunciative *u*).

huDga	'boy'	*huDgaru*	'boys'
saabi	'Muslim'	*saabru*	'Muslims'
sose	'daughter-in-law'	*soseeru*	'daughters-in-law'
huDgi	'girl'	*huDgiiru*	'girls'
hengsu	'woman'	*hengsru*	'women'

Note that feminine nouns ending in a vowel reduce the sequences *iya* and *eya* to *ii* and *ee* respectively (see 1.3.5.1).

soseyaru → *soseeru*　　　*huDgiyaru* → *huDgiiru*

Some nouns marked with *-aru* are honorific rather than plural.

deevru	'god'	*meesTru*	'teacher'
raayru	'master'	*DaakTru*	'doctor'

With kinship terms, the marker for plural is often *-andaru*.

aNNa	'elder brother'	*aNNandru*	'elder brothers'
akka	'elder sister'	*akkandru*	'elder sisters'
taayi	'mother'	*taayandru*	'mothers'

Some nouns have irregular plurals, as for example:

magu	'child'	*makLu*	'children'

2.3 The case system. The case system of Kannada is similar to those of other Dravidian languages, as well as of some other languages. Various suffixes are added to the noun stem to indicate different relationships between the noun and other constituents of the sentence; for example, to indicate whether the noun is the "object" of a verb (in which case it is marked for accusative case), or the "goal" of a verb of motion (dative case), the possessor of something (genitive case), or the means by which something takes place (instrumental case), etc.[2] Unless otherwise noted, this discussion and analysis of the case system is based primarily on the work of Chidananda Murthy (1976).

2.3.1 The nominative case. The basic form of the noun as it occurs as either the subject or predicate nominal in a sentence such as

idu mane 'this is (a) house'

is called the nominative case. Subjects of sentences are usually in the nominative case, with a few exceptions (see 3.8 and 4.0.1 on 'dative-statives'). In SK, the nominative case marker can be considered a 'zero' (no apparent marker in the surface form (Chidananda Murthy 1976:313)), and it is in this basic form that a Kannada noun is listed in the dictionary.[3]

Nouns may end in *a, e, i, u, aa,* or in a consonant. Those that end in a consonant have an enunciative *u* added (see 1.3.3). Nouns ending in a short *a* generally behave differently throughout the paradigms than do other nouns.

2.3.2 The genitive case.[4]

The genitive case, indicating "possession" is marked in several different ways. In some cases, because of vowel deletion, the genitive and nominative forms may appear the same on the surface. The genitive case marker is basically *-a*, but for "non-rational" nouns whose nominative ends in *-a*, the genitive is *-da,* and for "rational" nouns that have an optional gender marker *-nu* or *-Lu* (see 2.1), this marker must be included before the genitive *-a*.

kelsa 'work' + *-da* 'genitive' → *kels(a)da* 'of work'

huDuga(nu) 'boy' + *-a* 'genitive' → *huDug(a)na* 'boy's'

akka(Lu) 'elder sister' + *-a* 'genitive' → *akkaLa* 'elder sister's'

Nouns that end in other vowels (*e, i, u, aa*) simply add *a*, preceded by morphophonemically inserted *y* or *v* (see 1.2.6.1). In colloquial speech, however, these vowel combinations reduce to a lengthened stem-final vowel (see 1.3.5.1); and these long vowels are then usually shortened (see 1.3.6.1). The final surface outcome of these rules is that such nouns may appear to have no genitive case marker.

mane 'house' + *-a* 'genitive' *maneya* → *manee* → *mane*

guru 'teacher' + *-a* 'genitive' *guruva* → *guruu* → *guru*

Nouns ending in a consonant (preceded by enunciative *u*) often have a genitive ending *-ina* which morphophonemically reduces to *-in* or *-na* in SK.

uuru 'town' + *-ina* 'genitive' *janaru* 'people'

uurin janru ~ *uurna janru* 'the people of the town'

Neuter determinatives (e.g. *adu* 'that thing, it', *muuru* 'three', *aSTu* 'that much') have a genitive marker *-ara*.

adu 'that thing, it' + *-ara* 'genitive' *ad(a)ra* 'of that thing, it'

muuru 'three' + *-ara* 'genitive' *muur(a)ra* 'of three'

The genitive case is used to indicate possession, including possession of qualities or attributes; so it is not strange that it can be interpreted as having an adjectival function (cf. Bright 1958:31). Spencer quotes Kittel as saying that "all Kanarese words which are used as adjectives are in fact nouns, often the genitive of nouns" (Spencer 1950:260). Another similarity between genitives and adjectives is that they both end in *a*.

mar(a)da 'of a tree, of wood' or 'wooden'

marda mane 'house of wood, wooden house'

2.3.2.1 Summary of genitive forms.

nouns	genitive ending	example noun	genitive form
masculine, ending in *-a(nu)*	*-a*	*huDuga(nu)*	*huDug(a)na* 'boy's'
feminine, ending in *-a(Lu)*	*-a*	*akka(Lu)*	*akkaLa* 'elder sister's'
neuter, in *-a*	*-da*	*kel(a)sa*	*kels(a)da* 'of work'
" " *-e*	*-a*	*mane*	*mane(ya)*, *mane(e)* 'of the house'
" " *-i*	*-a*	*daari*	*daari(ya)*, *daari(i)*'of the way'
" " *-u*	*-a*	*guru*	*guru(va)*, *guru(u)* 'teacher's'
" determinative	*-ara*	*adu*	*ad(a)ra* 'of that, it'
" " consonant*	*-ina*	*uuru*	*uurin*, *uurna*

Plural nouns (which end in a consonant) take the genitive marker *-a* (see 2.3.8).

2.3.2.2. The 'oblique' stem. The oblique stem is that form to which some other case markers are added. For nouns, it is the same as the genitive except that genitive nouns ending in *-a* drop this final *a*, and for neuter determinatives it is the nominative form + *-a*.

adu 'it'   *ad(a)ra* 'its, of it'   *ada* 'it (oblique)
muuru 'three'   *muur(a)ra* 'of three'   *muura* 'three (oblique)'

Though the 'oblique' is similar in most respects to the genitive, the meaning of 'possession' is usually absent when other case markers are added to it.

2.3.3 The accusative case. The accusative case is used to indicate that a noun is an object of the action of a verb. That is, when the subject ("agent") of a sentence does something that has some effect on some person or object, that person or object ("patient") is marked for the accusative (sometimes called the "objective") case. The basic SK accusative marker is *-anna*, added to the nominative stem. IN LK, the most common suffix is *-annu*, but this is found only in "formal" SK (Chidananda Murthy 1976:316).

Due to short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6) and consonant cluster reduction (see 1.3.7), *-anna* may be reduced to *-an*, *-na*, or just *-n*, sometimes with glide reduction (see 1.3.5.1).

mara 'tree' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *maravanna* → *maraan(a)* 'tree (acc.)'
mane 'house' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *maneyanna* → *maneen(a)* 'house (acc.)'

Pronouns also have the accusative marker *-anna*.

adu 'that thing, it' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *adanna* → *adan* 'that thing, it (acc)
avaru 'they' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *avaranna* → *avran* 'them'

"Rational" nouns that have an optional gender marker *-nu* or *-Lu* (see 2.1) must have that marker present before the accusative suffix. However, because of short vowel deletion and consonant cluster reduction, the final surface form may be much reduced.

huDuga(nu) 'boy' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *huDugananna* → *huDgan* 'boy (acc.)'
appa(nu) 'father' + *-anna* 'accusative' → *appananna* → *appan* 'father (acc.)'

It is also possible for the accusative marker to be omitted entirely, except with "rational" nouns (see 2.1).

mara kaDi 'cut the tree'
kelsa maaDsu 'have the work done'

The use of the accusative marker with nouns with which it is not obligatory gives a sense of "particularity" or "definiteness".

mara nooDde 'I saw a tree'
maraan nooDde 'I saw the tree'

Thus the optional accusative marker is the closest thing Kannada has to a definite article.

2.3.4 The dative case. The dative case is used for a number of different purposes. It is used when a noun is the "goal" of a verb of motion, that is, when motion toward a noun is expressed (e.g. *maneeg hoode* 'I went to the house'). It is also used when a noun is the recipient of "benefaction", such as when something is given to someone or something (e.g. *nimag(e) koTTe* 'I gave (it) to you'). In addition, it occurs with certain stative verbs, expressing notions such as 'knowing, understanding, liking, wanting, being available, being sufficient', etc. (see 3.8).

"Non-rational" nouns ending in *a* have the dative marker *-kke* added to the nominative form, while neuter determinatives add *-kke* to the oblique stem.

mara 'tree' + *-kke* 'dative' → *marakke* 'to(ward) the tree'
kelsa 'work' + *-kke* 'dative' → *kelsakke* 'to/for work'
ida 'this thing (obl.)' + *-kke* 'dative' → *idakke* 'to/for this'
muura 'three (obl.)' + *-kke* 'dative' → *muurakke* 'to/at three'

For other nouns the dative suffix is *-ige*, which is added to the nominative of "non-rational" nouns, and to the oblique stem of "rational" nouns. Nouns that end in *e*, *i*, and (non-enunciative) *u* reduce the vowel and glide sequence as usual (see 1.3.5.1).

mane 'house' + *-ige* 'dative' → *maneyige* → *maneeg(e)* 'to the house'
nari 'fox' + *-ige* 'dative' → *nariyige* → *nariig(e)* 'to the fox'
guru 'teacher' + *-ige* 'dative' → *guruvige* → *guruug(e)* 'to the teacher'
uuru 'town' + *-ige* 'dative' → *uurg(e)* 'to the town'
aNNan 'elder brother (obl.)' + *-ige* 'dative' → *aNNan(i)g(e)* 'to the e. brother'
akkaL- 'elder sister (obl.)' + *-ige* 'dative' → *akkaL(i)g(e)* 'to the e. sister'

The word *jana* 'people' is semantically plural, and may occur with or without a plural marker. If no marker is present, it is treated like a singular noun ending in *a*, and takes the dative marker *-kke*. However, if a plural marker *-ru* or *-gaLu* is added, it takes *-ige* (Chidananda Murthy 1976:321).

aa janak buddhi illa 'those people have no discrimination'
aa janarge/janagaLge idan koDu 'give this to those people'

2.3.4.1 Summary of dative case forms.

nouns	dative ending	example noun	dative form
neuter nouns			
ending in *a*	*-kke*	*mara* (nom.)	*marakke* 'to the tree'
ending in *e, i, u*	*-ige*	*mane* (nom.)	*maneege* 'to the house'
ending in consonant	*-ige*	*uuru* (nom.)	*uurge* 'to the town'
neuter determinates	*-kke*	*ida-* (obl.)	*idakke* 'to this, to it'
rational nouns	*-ige*	*aNNan-* (obl.)	*aNNange* 'to elder brother'

2.3.5 The locative case. The locative case is used to express location, lack of motion, containment ('in'), and instrumentality (especially locomotion, e.g. *basnalli* 'by bus'). For "non-rational" nouns, the locative marker is *-alli*, added to the oblique stem. For nouns ending in a consonant, with oblique ending of *n*, the *n* is usually present, but may be deleted.

marad 'tree (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *mardalli* 'in the tree'
uurin 'town (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *uurnalli, uuralli* 'in the town'
daari 'way (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *daariyalli, daariili* 'in/on the way'
mane 'house (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' → *maneyalli, maneeli* 'in the house, at home'

Rational nouns require the postposition *hattira* either instead of or before *-alli*, and is attached to the oblique form of the noun. *hattira* itself must be in the oblique form *(hattirad)* if it occurs before *-alli*.

nan 'I (obl.)' + *hattira* 'locative' → *nan hatra* 'by/near/on me'
nan 'I (obl.)' + *hattirad* 'locative (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative'
→ *nan hatradalli* 'by/on/near me'

There are a number of other postpositions that have a more specific locative meaning, such as 'on top of', 'inside of', etc. These are dealt with in a later section (see 2.4).

2.3.5.1 Summary of locative forms.

nouns	locative ending	example noun	locative form
neuter nouns			
ending in *a*	*-alli*	*kelsad* (obl.)	*kelsdalli* 'in/at work'
ending in *i, e, u*	*-alli*	*daari* (obl.)	*daariili* 'on the way'
ending in consonant	*-alli*	*kaaDin* (obl.)	*kaaD(n)alli* 'in the forest'
rational nouns	*hattira(dalli)*	*aNNan* (obl.)	*aNNan hatra(dalli)* 'by/on/near elder brother'

2.3.6. The instrumental/ablative case. The case marker *-inda* is used to indicate both instrumental ('by means of') and ablative (motion away from something) notions.[5] It is often the case that the locative *-alli* (see 2.3.5) may be substituted for *-inda* when it is used in the instrumental sense, but not when it is used as an ablative.

When the instrumental/ablative suffix *-inda* occurs with nouns ending in *a*, it is added to the oblique stem of a noun (see 2.3.2.2). (Locative *-alli* is always added to the oblique stem, even when used as an instrumental, see 2.3.5)

aa 'that' + *div(a)sad* 'day (obl.)' + *-inda* 'ablative' → *aa divsdinda*
'from that day'

amerikad 'America (obl.)' + *-inda* ~ *-alli* 'ablative' → *amerikadinda*
'from America'

marad 'wood (obl.)' + *-inda* ~ *-alli* 'instrumental' → *mardinda* ~ *mardalli*
'by means of wood, out of wood'

kel(a)sad 'work (obl.)' + *-inda* ~ *-alli* 'instrumental' → *kelsdinda, kelsdalli*
'by (means of) work'

Otherwise, *-inda* is added directly to the nominative of the noun.

kaalu 'leg, foot' + *-inda* ~ *-alli* 'instrumental' → *kaalinda* ~ *kaalli*
'with the leg/foot'

penninda/pennalli kaagada bari 'write the letter with a pen'

Instrumentality in the sense of "means of transportation" is usually expressed with the locative *-alli* (see 2.3.5)

basnalli	'by bus'
kaarnalli	'by car'

Since the locative suffix *-alli* cannot be affixed to rational nouns (see 2.3.5), even when it is used as an instrumental marker, a postposition such as *kai* must be inserted. Such postpositions can also be inserted before *-inda*, but are not necessary.

huDgan-inda/-kaiyinda/-kaili paaT(h)a oodsu 'Have the lesson read by the boy'

When *-inda* is used in the ablative sense, it also requires a postposition to be inserted between it and a rational noun. This is usually *hattira*, the same form used with locative *-alli* after rational nouns (see 2.3.5), and occurs in the oblique form (*hattirad*) before *-inda*. It takes the oblique form of rational nouns and pronouns.

nan 'I (obl.)' + *hattirad* (obl.) + *-inda* 'ablative'   *nan hatradinda* 'from me'

-inda may also be used to indicate 'time since'.

eraD divsdinda 'from 2 days ago'

muur varSdinda 'since 3 years ago'

There are some "frozen" forms that occur frequently in Kannada, and together have a single meaning, such as *adar-inda* 'therefore'. Note that in these cases it is the genitive form of *adu* (*adar-*) that must appear before *-inda*.

Even though *-inda* can be translated as 'with', it does not mean 'with (a person)' in the sense of 'accompaniment'. For this meaning, a postposition such as *jote(eli), kuuDa, ondige,* or *sangaDa* is used (see 2.4.1).

2.3.7. The vocative case.

The vocative case is used with rational nouns to indicate a calling or summons. Neuter nouns are not usually used in the vocative, since non-rational objects are usually not summoned in any way, although if such things are "anthropomorphized" (as in a folk tale), this may happen.

For all rational nouns that have anything but final *a* or *i*, the vocative suffix is *-ee*, added to the nominative (with the enunciative *u* deleted from those that end in a consonant).

guru 'teacher' + *-ee* 'vocative'   *guruvee!* '(Hey) teacher!'

hengasu 'woman' + *-ee* 'vocative'   *hengsee!* '(Hey) woman!'

Nouns that end in *a* often form the vocative by lengtheningthe final *a* to *aa*.

huDgaa! '(Hey) boy!'

sevkaa! '(Hey) servant!'

Nouns ending in *i* may also lengthen the final vowel to *ii* instead of adding *-ee*.

huDgii! '(Hey) girl!'

2.3.8. Case markers with plurals.

The case markers used with plural nouns are usually the same as those used with the singular. In the plural, they are added to the plural marker *-gaLu*. Often the plural marker is not used, however, so the singular may be found when more than one object is meant (see 2.2).

Following the plural marker *-gaLu*, the genitive marker is *-a*, rather than *-ina*, which is otherwise used after nouns with final consonants. As with other genitives, this *a* may be deleted by short vowel reduction (see 1.3.6).

magu 'child' + *-gaLu* 'plural' + *-a* 'genitive' → *mak(ka)La* 'of the children'
makkaL pustaka 'the children's book'

Note that *magu* 'child' has an irregular form for the plural; most nouns do not operate this way.

With the accusative case, the marker *-anna* is sometimes reduced to just *a* with the plural, and this *a* may also be deleted.

makkaLu 'children' + *-anna* 'accusative'   *makkaLa* 'children (acc.)'
makkaL(a) kari 'call the children'

2.3.9. Alternate use of case markers. Kannada speakers will sometimes use one case marker (e.g. nominative) when another (e.g. accusative) is called for by the normal rules of grammar. This can happen when vowels are deleted so that forms that were originally different become the same; it can occur because of large scale historical changes (e.g. substitution of locative for instrumental, see 2.3.6); it can result from the influence of bilingual speakers whose other language has a different set of rules from that of standard SK; or it can be caused by the influence of one grammatical structure within Kannada being carried over into another.

Few rules can be given for these phenomena, so the student is advised to use the rules provided, and leave exceptional usages to native speakers.

2.4 Postpositions. Kannada has a set of forms called "postpositions" that are added to the end of noun phrases, usually after a case marker, to indicate time, location, instrumentality, etc. These are similar in function and semantic content to prepositions in some other languages. ("Left-branching" languages like Kannada, which have the verb at the end of the sentence, typically have postpositions instead of prepositions).

It is difficult precisely to enumerate the complete set of postpositions used in SK, both because some of those used in LK may occasionally be used in SK as well (but not by all speakers), and because postpositions (and prepositions) are simply not a fixed and limited set. New ones are added to the language, being derived from nouns, verbs, and even adverbial expressions. In English, for example, verbal participles like 'concerning' and 'regarding' are used like prepositions with approximately the same meaning as 'about' (a 'true' preposition), and Kannada can do the same kind of thing.

Postpositions may be followed by case markers, and in some instances by other postpositions. The list below includes the most common postpositions found in modern SK. Most of them follow the genitive case marker (see 2.3.2), but some follow the dative (see 2.3.4), some (usually historically derived from transitive verbs) follow the accusative (see 2.3.3), and a few (*kaDe*, and some that occur primarily with adjectival participles or noun phrases), follow the nominative (see 2.3.1).

(For a complete list of LK postpositions, see Spencer 1950:177.)

2.4.1. Postpositions with genitive. Most Kannada postpositions occur following the genitive form of the noun or pronoun (see 2.3.2). In the list that follows, some are specifically time expressions (e.g. 'before noon'), while others are specifically locative (e.g. 'before the door'); many, however, can be used in both ways. A few of the postpositions are instrumental, or have some other sense.

Since postpositions are often "free" forms, they may also occur alone or with adjectival participles (e.g. *niiv baroo varege* 'until you come'). Many in the list below end in *-e*; this seems to be an archaic locative marker (Spencer 1950:172; Chidananda Murthy 1976:324). In addition to those that are marked with this archaic locative, there are also some marked with the modern locative marker *-alli* (see 2.3.5), and some with the dative *-kke* (see 2.3.4).

Postpositions	examples	
tanaka 'until'	*naaLe tanaka*	'until tomorrow'
varege 'up to, until'	*aydra varege*	'up to 5 o'clock'
	naan baroo varege	'until I come'
meele 'on (top of),' 'after'	*mard meele*	'on the tree'
	aa meele	'after that'
	band meele	'after coming'
keLage 'below, under; ago'	*mard keLage*	'under the tree'
	muur varSad keLage	'three years ago'

horage	'outside'	*mane horage*	'outside the house'
oLage	'inside'	*guDi-y-oLage*	'inside the temple'
munde	'in front of'	*mane munde*	'in front of the house'
hinde	'behind'	*mane hinde*	'behind the house'
baLika	'after'	*band baLika*	'after coming'
suttalu	'around'	*uurn sutlu*	'around the town'
hattira	'near, by, in the possession of' (see 2.3.5 for use as locative with rational nouns)	*nan hatra*	'near/by/on me'
baLi	'near'	*nim baLi*	'near you'
pakkadalli	'near'	*mard pakkadalli*	'near the tree'
madhye	'amidst'	*uurn madhye*	'in the middle of town'
naDuve	'among'	*huDgar naDuve*	'among the boys'
buDadalli	'at the base of'	*mard buDdalli*	'at the foot of the tree'
tudiyalli	'on top of'	*male tudiili*	'on top of the hill'
balakke	'to the right of'	*nim balakke*	'on your right'
eDakke	'to the left of'	*nan eDakke*	'on my left'
uttarakke	'north of'	*uurn utrakke*	'north of town'
dakSiNakke	'south of'	*bhaaratad dakSNakke*	'South India'
pascimakke	'west of'	*adr pascimakke*	'west of that'
puuravakke	'east of'	*guDi puurvakke*	'east of the temple'
jote(eli)	'with, in the company of'	*nim jote(eli)*	'with you'
oDane	'with; as soon as'	*nim oDane*	'with you'
kuuDa	'with'	*avr kuuDa*	'with them/him/her'
ondige	'with'	*nan ondige*	'with me'
sangaDa	'with'	*avL sangDa*	'with her'
kaiyalli	'through, by means of'	*huDgan kaili*	'by (the hand of) the boy'
horatu	'except'	*nim horatu*	'except for you'

2.4.2 Postpositions with dative. A small number of postpositions follow the dative case (see 2.3.4) rather than the genitive.

postposition		example	
munce	'before (time)'	*adak munce*	'before that time'
modalu	'before'	*uuTak modlu*	'before dinner'
aagi	'for, on behalf of'	*nimg-aagi*	'for you, on your behalf'

ooskara	'for (the sake of)	*nimg oskra*	'for you, for your sake'
		nooDok oskra	'for the sake of looking'
inta	'than' (comparative particle, see 2.6.7-9)	*adakk inta oLLeedu*	'(this) is better than that'

2.4.3 Postpositions with accusative. Postpositions derived from transitive verbs follow nouns in the accusative case (see 2.3.3).

postposition		example	
nooDi	'toward, in the direction of'	*avrn nooDi hoode*	'I went toward him'
seersi	'together'	*adn seersi koTTe*	'I gave it (all) together'

2.4.4 The postposition *kaDe*. The postposition *kaDe* 'place, side, direction' follows the nominative case, but often has locative *-alli* affixed to it. *kaDe* often follows another postposition, in which case the case markers affixed to these postpositions (archaic *-e* or modern *-kke*) must be deleted before *kaDe*. Postpositions that end in *-alli* cannot have *kaDe* added to them. Also, following a voiced consonant, the initial *k* of *kaDe* may become voiced.

mysuur kaDe 'near Mysore, toward Mysore, in the Mysore region'
mysuur kaDe + avaru 'person' *mysuur kaDeeru* 'a person from Mysore'
marad meele ~ meelgaDe ~ meelgaDeeli (meel+kaDe+alli) 'on the tree'
mane munde ~ mundgaDe ~ mundgaDeeli 'in front of the house'

2.4.5 Postpositions with adjectival participles. Some postpositions (one might also call them 'adverbs' (see 4.2) occur primarily with adjectival participles (see 3.5.4), or as noun phrases themselves. These include *kuuDalee* 'immediately after', *aSTar-oLage* 'while, within the time of', and *aaga* 'then/when'.

niiv baroo-v-aaga 'when you come'
naan band kuuDle 'as soon as I came'
naav baroo aSTroLage 'while we were coming'

Since these forms never are attached to nouns or case-marked nouns, but always follow adjectival forms, they are not postpositions in the usual sense. Together with their adjectival participles, they might be called 'sentential adverbs' (see 4.2.2). It may be noted that some grammarians (cf. Spencer 1950:165-6) tend to group adverbs and postpositions together without any distinction.

2.5 Pronouns. Pronouns are grammatical forms that substitute for nouns or noun phrases. Most languages have pronouns that refer to the speaker (1st person), to the addressee (2nd person), and to other people or things (3rd person). Most languages distinguish between singular and plural pronouns (and some have other distinctions such as 'dual', 'inclusive/exclusive', etc.). Many languages distinguish gender in 3rd person pronouns ('he/she/it') and some, including Kannada, have special pronouns for politeness in 2nd and 3rd persons.

Kannada, unlike modern English, distinguishes between singular and plural in 2nd person, and uses plural forms for singular referents in 2nd and 3rd persons to indicate politeness. In addition, Kannada has a 'super-polite' or 'honorific' form *taavu* which can be used in 2nd and 3rd persons, and a reflexive pronoun *taanu* 'oneself', and its variants.

LK distinguishes between singular and plural with neuter (non-rational) forms; but in SK this distinction is often not made (see 2.1). Kannada also distinguishes between 'proximate', 'remote' and 'interrogative' pronouns in the 3rd person. (This latter distinction is not indicated in the paradigm of pronouns below; but it is discussed in 2.5.1).

person	singular		plural (sg. polite)		honorific (sg./pl.)	
first	*naanu*	'I'	*naavu*	'we'		
second	*niinu*	'you'	*niivu*	'you'	*taavu*	'you'
third masculine	*avanu*	'he'	*avaru*	'they (he)'	*taavu*	'they (he)'
feminine	*avaLu*	'she'	*avaru*	'they (she)'	*taavu*	'they (she)'
neuter	*adu*	'it'	*avu*	'they (those things)'		
reflexive	*taanu*	'oneself'	*taavu*	'themselves'	*taavu*	'yourself, themselves'

2.5.1. Demonstrative pronouns. In the 3rd person, Kannada distinguishes the location of the person or thing discussed in reference to that of the speaker in terms of 'proximate' or 'remote'. This distinction is unnecessary for 1st or 2nd persons, as the speaker and addressee are always 'proximate'.

person	number	proximate		remote	
3rd masc.	sg.	*ivanu*	'this man'	*avanu*	'that man'
	pl.	*ivaru*	'these men'	*avaru*	'those men'
3rd fem.	sg.	*ivaLu*	'this woman'	*avaLu*	'that woman'
	pl.	*ivaru*	'these women'	*avaru*	'those women'
3rd neuter	sg.	*idu*	'this (thing)'	*adu*	'that (thing)'
	pl.	*ivu*	'these (things)'	*avu*	'those (things)'

It should be noted that, as with other pronouns, the plural form may be used for politeness. In addition, the plural forms *ivaru* and *avaru* may be used when the sex of the referent is not specified, or when the meaning 'person' is desired.

Kannada also has a set of pronouns ('who, which/what') that are used in questions.

yaavanu?	'which man?'	*yaavadu?*	'which thing?'
yaavaLu?	'which woman?'	*eenu?*	'what?'
yaaru?	'who, which person/people?'		

yaavanu and *yaavaLu* are used primarily to verify some identity specifically; otherwise *yaaru* is used. In the same way, *yaavadu* asks for specific information (as from a set), whereas *eenu* is more general.

yaavn banda?	'which man came?'
yaar bandru?	'who came?'
pustaka yaavdu?	'which (of these things) is a book?'
pustaka eenu?	'what (in the world) is a book?'

2.5.2. Other "pro-forms". Besides the demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1) and the demonstrative adjectives (see 2.6.6), there are other sets of words in Kannada that are distinguished by the difference in the initial vowel or syllable (*i*, *a*, or *e/yaav-*). Some of these could be considered to be adjectives, and some adverbs; they will be called "pro-forms" here, on the model of pronoun.

The sense of 'proximate' and 'remote' in these forms is not always that of location as with the demonstrative pronouns; it may be in the sense of time or some other meaning.

proximate		remote		interrogative	
illi	'here'	*alli*	'there'	*elli?*	'where?'
iSTu	'this much'	*aSTu*	'that much'	*eSTu*	'how much?'
iiga	'now'	*aaga*	'then'	*yaavaaga?*	'when?'
iivattu	'today'	*aavattu*	'that day'	*yaavattu*	'which day?'

Another set of pro-forms has an initial *h*, with the variable vowel following. The interrogative form in this set may have either the vowel *ee* or *æ*; and some speakers also have a short vowel plus *n* (Bright 1958:25).

hiige~hinge	'this way'	*haage~hange*	'that way'	*heege~hæge~henge*	'which way?'

By the addition of certain suffixes, the interrogative pro-forms (including pronouns) can be changed to give them an indefinite sense (e.g. 'something (or other')). *-aadru* (technically the 'concessive' form of the verb *aagu* 'become' (see 4.10), literally 'even if (it) becomes') may be added to give the meaning, e.g., 'something (it's not important what, but we could find out if necessary)'. *-oo* (the clitic meaning 'doubt', see 4.13) added to the interrogative gives the meaning, e.g., 'something or other (I don't really know, and couldn't tell you even if pressed)'.

ellaadru	'somewhere'	*elloo*	'somewhere or other'
eSTaadru	'some amount'	*eSToo*	'however much (I don't know)'
eenaadru	'something'	*eenoo*	'something or other'
yaaraadru	'someone'	*yaaroo*	'someone or other (we'll never know)'

-aadru and *-oo* can be added to interrogative pro-forms that are marked for case as well (see 2.5.3.).

elligaadru	'to somewhere, in some direction'
yaarigoo gottu	'someone or other knows; God only knows'

2.5.3 Case-marked pronouns. Pronouns, like nouns, can be marked for case (see 2.3.5), and when this happens, the forms of the pronominal stems change, especially in the 1st and 2nd persons, and in the reflexive. As with nouns, the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1) is the form to which case endings are added.

2.5.3.1 Genitive and oblique forms of pronouns. The genitive form of a pronoun is used to indicate possession. With deletion of the final vowel, and reduction of geminate consonants, this becomes the oblique stem to which other case markers are added. (While genitive and oblique forms are historically derived from the same form, they are differentiated here because they operate slightly differently in modern SK.)

person	singular	plural, polite	honorific (sg./pl.)
	genitive (oblique)	genitive (oblique)	genitive (oblique)
1st	*nanna (nan-)* 'my'	*namma (nam-)* 'our'	
2nd	*ninna (nin-)* 'your'	*nimma (nim-)* 'your'	*tamma (tam-)* 'your'
3rd masc.	*avana (avan-)* 'his'	*avara (avar-)* 'their'	*tamma (tam-)* 'their/his'
fem.	*avaLa (avaL-)* 'her'	*avara (avar-)* 'their'	*tamma (tam-)* 'their/her'
neuter	*adara (adar-)* 'its'	*avugaLa (avgL-)* 'their'	
reflexive	*tanna (tan-)* 'one's own'	*tamma (tam-)* 'their own'	*tamma (tam-)* 'your/their own'

Note that the 3rd person genitive pronouns do not differ greatly from the nominative, except for the addition of final *a*, whereas 1st and 2nd person pronouns are characterized by short vowels and substitution of *mm* for *v*.

nan hesru raamu 'my name is Ram'

nim mane ell ide 'where is your house?'

avr haLLi illinda tumba duura 'his village is very far from here'

2.5.3.2. Accusative forms of pronouns. The accusative is formed by adding *-anna* to the genitive forms of rational pronouns, and to the nominative of neuters. Often, due to vowel deletion and consonant-cluster reduction, the marker may be reduced to just *-n*. In the singular of 1st, 2nd and 3rd masculine, the accusative form may even be reduced so far as to be identical with the oblique; however, this would be disambiguated by the context.

person	singular		plural, polite		honorific (sg./pl.)	
1st	*nan(nan(na))*	'me'	*nam(man(na))*	'us'		
2nd	*nin(nan(na))*	'you'	*nim(man(na))*	'you'	*tamman(na)*	'you'
3rd masc.	*avan((an)na)*	'him'	*avaran(na)*	'them'	*tamman(na)*	'him,them'
fem.	*avaLan(na)*	'her'	*avaran(na*	'them'	*tamman(na)*	'her, them'
neuter	*adan(na)*	'it'	*avan(na)*	'those things'		
reflexive	*tan(nan(na))*	'oneself'	*tamman(na)*	'themselves'	*tamman(na)*	'yourself, themselves'

nimman edur-nooDtaa-idvu 'We were expecting you'

avarn keeLi 'ask him'

Note that the forms given in the paradigm above may be reduced even further by short vowel reduction (1.3.6), e.g. *avaLan* might be reduced to *avLn* 'her'.

2.5.3.3 Dative forms of pronouns. The dative of rational pronouns is formed by taking the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1) and adding *-age* in 1st and 2nd persons and 3rd honorific, and *-ige* to other 3rd person forms. In the neuter, *-akke* is added to the nominative *adu* or *avu*.

person	singular		plural, polite		honorific (sg./pl.)	
1st	*nanage*	'to me'	*namage*	'to you'		
2nd	*ninage*	'to you'	*nimage*	'to you'	*tamage*	'to you'
3rd masc.	*avanige*	'to him'	*avarige*	'to him them	*tamage*	'to him, them'
fem.	*avaLige*	'to her'	*avarige*	'to her	*tamage*	'to her, them'
neuter	*adakke*	'to it'	*avakke*	'to them'		
reflexive	*tanage*	'to self'	*tamage*	'to selves'	*tamage*	'to self/ves'

nimag biDuv aag-idyaa? 'do you have time off?'

avLig tumba kelsa ide 'she has a lot of work to do'

adakkeenu? 'what difference does it make?'

2.5.3.4 Locative forms of pronouns. The locative case of pronouns is formed like that of nouns (see 2.5.3.1), that is, for non-rational pronouns *-alli* is added to the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1), and with rational pronouns the postposition *hattira* is added to the oblique stem.

adar 'it (obl.)' + *-alli* 'locative' *adralli* 'in/by it'

nan 'I (obl.)' + *hattira* 'locative' *nan hatra* 'by/on/near me'

nim hatra haNa idyaa? 'do you have money (on your person)?'

Other semantic distinctions relating to location can be made with the use of postpositions (see 2.4).

2.5.3.5 Instrumental/ablative forms of pronouns. The instrumental and ablative cases for pronouns are formed in the same manner as for nouns (see 2.3.6). In the instrumental, either the instrumental/ablative form *-inda* or the locative form *-alli* (but not with rational pronouns) may be used; but in the ablative, only *-inda* is possible. *-inda* is added to the genitive form of pronouns (see 2.5.3.1) after deleting the final *a* of the genitive. *-alli* and *hattira* are added to the oblique stem (see 2.5.3.1).

avaninda kelsa maaDsu 'have the work done by him'

adarinda kaagada bari 'write a letter with this'

The neuter form *adarinda* is also found as a "frozen" form, which may be translated as 'therefore'.

adrinda niiv bar-beeku 'therefore you must come'

Other semantic distinctions relating to instrumental or ablative senses can be made by the use of postpositions (see 2.4).

2.5.4 Pronoun deletion. Kannada 'finite' verbs generally agree with their subjects, including pronouns, in person, number and gender (see 3.4.1). That is, verbs have PNG suffixes added to indicate these features of the subject. Since in a sentence with a pronoun the specification of person, number and gender is done twice (once in the pronoun and once in the verb), pronouns may often be deleted from a sentence; but PNG markers on the verb may not.

In the case of deletion, one will often find sentences like the following, where the subject of the sentence can be determined by the PNG marker on the verb.

uurg hoogtiiraa? 'are you going home?' (*niivu* deleted)

naaLe bartiini 'I will come tomorrow' (*naanu* deleted)

Deletion of pronouns may also take place where the verb is not marked for PNG (e.g. with modals or negatives). In such cases the subject of the sentence must be determined from the physical or linguistic context.

kannaDa gottaa? 'do you know Kannada?' (*nimage* deleted)

naaLe bartiini 'I'll come tomorrow' (*naanu* deleted)

For some purposes, including emphasis or clarification, pronouns may be left in the sentence.

avn barlilla 'he didn't come'

2.6 Adjectives. The subject of adjectives in Kannada (and in other Dravidian languages) has plagued grammarians for a long time. Syntactically there seem to be some constituents that act like adjectives do in other languages; but upon closer analysis, it seems that they can usually be derived from other constituents such as nouns or verbs.[6]

For pedagogical purposes, a small number of items can be considered to be "true" adjectives, and all others can be derived from nouns or verbs by regular rules. Adjectives, whether "true" or derived, occur before nouns in the sentence, and do not vary in form according to the gender, number, or case of the noun modified.

Adjectives usually end in *a*; but due to morphophonemic changes, the vowels may be different on the surface. For example, the underlying form of *oLLe* 'good' is *oLLeya*, and the underlying form of *baroo* 'coming, next' is *baruva*; but these forms are reduced by regular rules (see 1.3.5.1). Similarly, the full form of *hood* 'last, gone' is *hooda*, but the final *a* is deleted by another regular rule (see 1.3.6). Thus while all underlying forms of adjectives end in *a*, on the surface in SK this is often obscured.

2.6.1 "True" adjectives. The following are the full forms of most of the "true", or non-derived, adjectives in Kannada.

cikka	'small'	*hosa*	'new'
saNNa	'small'	*haLeya*	'old'
puTTa	'tiny'	*kiriya*	'younger'
doDDa	'big'	*hiriya*	'older'
bisiya	'hot'	*oLLeya*	'good'

All final *a*'s and *ya*'s in the above forms will be dropped by regular rules.

2.6.2 Adjectives derived from verbs. Adjectives can be derived from verbs by taking the present stem and adding *-uva* (actually the future stem in LK, plus adjectival *a*, see 3.4.4, 3.5.4., 4.13), which is then reduced to *-oo*, or by taking the past stem and adding *a* (which may then be deleted.) These forms are the adjectival participles (3.5.4), sometimes also called "deverbal adjectives".

baroo varSa 'next year (the year that is coming)'
hood vaara 'last week (the week that is gone)'
nooDid pustaka 'the book that was read'
keTTa haNNu 'the rotten fruit (the fruit that spoiled)'

2.6.3 Adjectives derived from nouns and "defective" verbs. Adjectives can also be derived from some nouns by the addition of *aada* or *iroo*. *aada* is the past adjectival participle of *aagu*'become' (see 3.11.2), while *iroo* is the present adjectival participle of *iru* 'be' (see 3.8.9).

There seems to be a semantic distinction between these two kinds of adjectives. Those with *aada* indicate an inalienable, intrinsic or inherent quality, while those with *iroo* suggest an alienable, extrinsic, or temporary state (see 4.12).

sundara 'beauty' + *aada* → *sundaravaada* 'beautiful
kempu 'redness' + *aada* → *kempaada* 'red (inherently)'
kempu 'redness' + *iroo* → *kempiroo* 'red (temporarily)'

Some defective verbs (see 3.9) can also have *aada* added to them to make adjectives, since these verbs have no present or past stems.

beeku 'want, need, must' + *aada* → *beekaada* 'necessary'

2.6.4 Color adjectives. Names of colors are nouns, but they can be used adjectivally in the simple form, or with the addition of *aada* or *iroo* (see 2.6.3)

baNNa	'color'	*biLi*	'white'	*kempu*	'red'
niili	'blue'	*kappu*	'black'	*hasuru*	'green'
haLadi	'yellow'				

ii SarTin baNNa biLi 'this shirt's color is white'

id biLi SarTu 'this is a white shirt'

id biLiyaad SarTu 'this shirt is white (inherently)'

2.6.5 Nominalized adjectives. All the above types of adjectives can be made into nouns. In fact, since Kannada has no "predicate adjectives" (e.g. as in English 'he is big'), when an adjective appears as the predicate of a sentence, or any time when it does not precede a noun, it must be nominalized. Adjectives are made into nouns by the addition of third person pronouns (see 2.5). All of these nominalized adjectives can then be marked for case, just like nouns and pronouns.

doDDa 'big' + *avanu* 'he' → *doDDavnu* → *doDDoonu* 'a big man'

banda 'came' + *avaLu* 'she' → *bandavLu* → *bandooLu* 'a woman who came'

sundaravaada 'beautiful' + *avaru* 'they' → *sundarvaadooru* 'beautiful people'

biLi 'white' + *adu* 'that thing' → *biLiidu* 'a white thing'

Nominalized forms also can be made of the numerals 'one' and 'two' (see 2.7.1) when they are used to refer to people.

obbanu	'one man'	*obbaru*	'one person (polite)'
obbaLu	'one woman'	*ibbaru*	'two people'

ibbr manuSru bandidru 'two men came'

Three persons or more are referred to with a numeral plus *jana* 'people'.

muur jana 'three people'

hatt jana 'ten people'

Adjectives derived from verbs can also be nominalized. All such adjectives may be marked for case, as well as number and gender. The neuter forms of these nominalizations take the same case markers as *adu*. Such forms are usually considerably shortened by morphophonemic rules.

maaDu 'do' + *-uva* 'adj.' + *ada* 'pron.' + *-kke* 'dative ' → *maaDuvadakke*
→ *maaDokke* 'for eating, to eat'

This form is the most common 'infinitive' form in SK (see 3.2)

uuTa maaDokk band-idde 'I came to eat (do a meal)'

Other nominalized forms of verbs are used in certain negatives and elsewhere (see 4.43).

2.6.6 Demonstrative adjectives. Kannada has a set of adjectives (deictic particles) that are used to distinguish between proximate and remote, and to ask questions about particular things. These are similar to English demonstrative adjectives 'this, that, what/which'. The particle used for proximate is *ii* 'this', for distant or remote is *aa* 'that', and for the WH- interrogative (question word) is *yaava* 'what, which'. (In English, and in modern transformational linguistics, this type of interrogative is called a 'WH- interrogative" because the English words used in these constructions begin with wh-.) These particles are invariable; they do not change even if the noun is marked for number, gender, or case.

ii mane	'this house'
aa pustaka	'that book'
yaav kaDẹ	'which side?'

When these adjectives are nominalized, the product is the set of demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1). The difference between demonstrative adjectives and neuter demonstrative pronouns is difficult for English speakers, because 'this, that, what/which' are used for both. The demonstrative adjectives in Kannada are always used before a noun as modifiers, whereas the pronominal forms replace a noun. The pronominal forms can often be translated as 'this/that/which thing' or 'this/that/which one', while the adjectival forms cannot.

ii mane 'this house'	*idu mane* 'this (thing) is a house'
aa haLLi 'that village'	*adu haLLi* 'that (thing) is a village'
yaav daari? 'which way?'	*yaavdu daari?* 'which (one) is the way?'

2.6.7 Comparatives of adjectives. Adjectives may be compared by the use of the comparative particle (postposition) *inta* affixed to the dative case (see 2.4.2). For this purpose, the nominalized form of the adjective (see 2.6.5) must be used. The structure of the proposition "A is bigger than B" in Kannada is "A, B + dative + *inta* 'big' + pronoun .

naan 'I' *nim* 'you (obl.)' + *-age* 'dative' + *-inta doDDa* 'big'+ *avanu*
'3rd masc.' → *naan nimginta doDDoonu* 'I am bigger than you'
1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2

avLu nanginta sundravaadooLu	'She is more beautiful than I'
idu adakkinta hosdu	'This is newer than that'

2.6.8. Superlatives of adjectives. Kannada does not have a superlative particle (like English -est) , but rather has syntactic constructions of the form 'A than/in all of B is (the) big (one). That is, the domain (B) is defined by *ella* 'all' plus dative plus comparative particle *inta* (type 1), or with the locative plus *ella* (type 2). This is followed by the assertion that in domain B, 'A is the big one'.

Type 1

idu 'this' *ella* 'all' *kaaru* 'car' + *ige* 'dative' + *inta* 'comp.' *hosa* 'new' +
adu '3rd neuter' → *idu ella kaarginta hosdu* 'this is the newest car (of all)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(this than (in) all cars (is) the new one)'
1 5 4 2 3 6 7

avru ellarginta buddhivantru 'He is the smartest of all (he is smarter than all)'

Type 2

nanna 'I (gen.)' *kaaru* 'car' *uuru* 'town' + *alli* 'locative' + *ella* 'all' +
hosa 'new' + *adu* 'thing' → *nan kaar uurallella hosdu*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'my car is the newest one in (all the) town'
1 2 6 7 4 5 3

adu bengLuurallella doD hooTLu 'that is the biggest hotel in Bangalore'

2.6.9 Quantifiers. Kannada has a number of adjectives that indicate quantity.

bahaLa 'much, many'
ella 'all'
solpa 'some, few'
tumba 'very/too much'
konca 'a little'
kelavu 'some'
vipriita 'excessive'
halavu ' a few'

bahLa santooSa 'much pleasure'
ella uuru 'all towns'
uur ella 'the whole town'
tumba jaasti 'too much'

When *ella* precedes a noun, it means 'all (of)' and what follows it is then semantically plural. When it follows a noun it means 'the whole' and is semantically singular.

2.7 Numerals. There are two types of numerals in Kannada. The cardinal numerals are used to indicate the sum of what is being counted while the ordinal numerals indicate the order of the item in a set.

ondu	'one'	*aaru*	'six'
eraDu	'two'	*eeLu (yooLu §)*	'seven'
muuru	'three'	*eNTu*	'eight'
naa(lak)ku	'four'	*omb(h)attu*	'nine'
aydu	'five'	*hattu*	'ten'

The 'teens' are formed by adding a form of *hattu* 'ten' to the numerals from 'one' to 'nine'. For 'eleven' and 'twelve', this takes the form *hann-* , for 'thirteen' to 'eighteen' it is in the form *had(i)(n)-*, and for 'nineteen' it is *hatt-*.

hannondu	'eleven'	*hadnaaru*	'sixteen'
hanneraDu	'twelve'	*hadneeLu*	'seventeen'
hadmuuru	'thirteen'	*hadneNTu*	'eighteen'
hadnaa(lak)ku	'fourteen'	*hattomb(h)attu*	'nineteen'
hadnaydu	'fifteen'		

From 'twenty' to 'ninety', truncated forms or other variants of the numerals 'two' to 'nine' are added to a form of *hattu* 'ten'. (Since *hattu* was **pattu* in Old Kannada, reflexes of the labial consonant show up either as *p* or *v* in these combinations.)

ippattu	'20'	*aravattu*	'60'
muuvattu	'30'	*eppattu*	'70'
nalavattu	'40'	*emb(h)attu*	'80'
ayvattu	'50'	*tomb(h)attu*	'90'

The numerals from '100' to '900' are formed by adding truncated forms or other variants of the numerals '1' to '9' to *nuuru* '100'.

nuuru	'100'	*aarnuuru*	'600'
innuuru	'200'	*eeLnuuru*	'700'
munnuuru	'300'	*eNTnuuru*	'800'
naanuuru	'400'	*omb(h)aynuuru*	'900'
aynuuru	'500'		

saavira '1000' is preceded by other numerals to give multiples. Indian languages generally do not count in 'millions' or 'billions'; instead, beyond the thousands the count is in *lakSa* 'lakhs' (100 thousand) and *kooTi* 'crores' (10 million) .

muur saavira '3,000' *erD lakSa* '200,000' *ayd kooTi* '50,000,000'

Combinations of numerals are made by adding in the order as given in the examples below. When *saavira* '1000' is combined with other numerals, it occurs in the oblique form *saavird*.

muuvatt-aydu '35'
eppatt-naalku '74'
innuur-aaru '206'
eNTnuur-ayvatt-aydu '855'
saavird-omb(h)aynuur-eppatt-omb(h)attu '1979'
saavird-omb(h)aynuur-emb(h)att-naalku '1984'

2.7.2 Ordinal numerals. Ordinal numerals are formed by adding *-anee* to the cardinal numerals (see 2.7.1).

**ondnee* 'first'
eraDnee 'second'
aydnee 'fifth'
muuvatt-aydnee 'thirty-fifth'
nuurnee 'hundredth'
saavirdnee 'thousandth'

ondnee has an alternate form *modalnee* 'first'.

The interrogative pro-form *eSTu* 'how much' (see 2.5.2) can also take the ordinal marker *-anee*.

eSTanee 'how many-eth'
niiv iNDyak band id eSTnee varSa? 'how many years have you been in India?'
(this is the how many-eth year since you came to India?)

Footnotes to Chapter 2

[1] Most grammars available to us do not give a satisfactory statement of where the boundary between "rational" and "non-rational" (neuter) nouns falls in Kannada. Spencer (1950:35) states that *suurya* 'the sun', *chandra* 'the moon', the planets, some deified birds and animals such as *garuDa* 'chief of the birds', *basava* 'bull', *kooNa* 'male buffalo', etc. are masculine. (However, those that have plurals are neuter in the plural.).

heNNu 'woman' and *deevate* 'goddess' are generally feminine; *kuusu* 'infant' and *magu* 'child' are generally neuter, but occasionally masculine or feminine." *gaNDu* 'male' and *heNNu* 'female' may be added to words that are ordinarily neuter to indicate their gender (e.g. *heN-giLi* 'hen parrot').

The boundary between "rational" and "non-rational" is usually the equivalent of that between "human" and "non-human" if one considers deities (including planets and certain animals) to be invested with human or deified qualities. However, because women and children are sometimes treated as "non-rational", we consider the classification based on "rationality" to be more useful than that based on "humanness". For the sake of brevity, we refer to non-rationals as "neuter".

[2] Traditional grammars of Kannada usually limit the case system to seven cases (cf. Kittel 1903:68), but in fact it is difficult to say precisely where the case system ends and the system of adding postpositions begins. For example, many postpositions (equivalent to prepositions in some other languages) are added to the genitive case. Traditionally, suffixes added to case markers are not; but suffixes added to the genitive, such as the instrumental-ablative, have been treated as case suffixes in some grammars. Some suffixes may occur independently of the noun; thus when occurring with a noun, they are easily classified as postpositions.

This ambiguity as to what is and what is not a case has led some grammarians to consider the genitive not to be a case, since suffixes they consider to be case are added to it. These grammarians are then forced to propose that the genitive is produced by morphophonemic rules through the addition of case. In this grammar the genitive will be treated as a case, but when other cases are added to it, we treat it as the "oblique" stem.

[3] In some grammars of LK, nominative suffixes (usually *-u*) are added to some noun stems ("crude forms" (Spencer 1950:50)) to make the nouns appear uniform in their inflection, or for other reasons (such as to conform to a Sanskritized model of grammar). In SK, these "empty" *-u* forms are absent except in nouns ending in certain consonants. Whether or not these LK *-u* vowels are part of the underlying form of SK nouns (e.g. *maneyu* instead of *mane* 'house (nom.)'), they would be reduced by automatic vowel reduction rules to long homorganic vowels and then shortened anyway; these rules are needed on independent grounds in the grammar, so the surface outcome is the same in either case. For simplicity, however, we give the nominative ending as 'zero'.

[4] If the change in form of a noun before the addition of certain case markers were considered to be a morphophonemic phenomenon, the genitive case could perhaps be eliminated as part of the Kannada case system (see fn. 2). However, this would not explain how it is that some nouns have a special form that occurs before other nouns to convey the meaning of possession. Bright (1958:31) chooses to treat the genitive as an "adjective phrase" and the genitive case marker as an "adjective suffix".

The problem of the genitive is one of form vs. function. Some nouns have a genitive form that differs from the nominative form, while others show no such difference. Sometimes this genitive form also functions as a base to which other case markers or postpositions are added, and often in this function the notion of "possession" is not present. Furthermore, because of deletion of unstressed short vowels in certain positions in a word, the genitive case marker (usually *a*) may be deleted, resulting in no surface difference between the genitive and the nominative.

[5] Debates about whether this case marker is primarily instrumental and only secondarily used for ablative, or vice versa, are found in the literature on Kannada grammar. Chidananda Murthy points out that "all scholars are of the opinion that *-ind(a)* is the instrumental suffix, which is also employed to express ablative" (1976:318). However, it also seems to be the case that in SK,

"all neuter instrumental forms, without any exception, can be expressed through [the] locative suffix *-alli*, or through postpositions inflected for locative in the case of rational nouns and all pronouns" (Chidananda Murthy, 1976:318). It seems in fact to be the case that use of locative *-alli* for instrumental is actually more common than use of the instrumental *-inda*, and that this has been the situation for a long time, as evidenced by inscriptional records. The ablative, in contrast, can only be expressed by the suffix *-inda*. We therefore have the anomalous situation of the suffix *-inda* being classified as primarily instrumental and secondarily ablative, but instrumental being substitutable by locative, whereas ablative has no substitute.

[6] A number of tests to determine whether there are any "true" adjectives in Kannada have been attempted, but the results are usually inconclusive. While there are a few putative adjectives in Kannada that cannot be easily derived from other constituents (or that cannot be shown not to be derived from these putative adjectives themselves), we agree in theory with Nadkarni (1971) and Madtha (1976) in analyzing adjectives as surface structure phenomena, with no constituent "adjective" in deep structure. It may also be noted that clitics (4.13) may be added to any constituent in a sentence, but not to adjectives; this seems to indicate that adjectives are not constituents in deep structure.

3.0 The verb. This chapter deals with "simple" forms of the verb and verb phrase that in a traditional grammar would be considered part of the paradigms ("principal parts") of the verb, or in a generative grammar would be generated in the base component or phrase structure of the grammar. More complex forms and constructions are discussed under syntax (see section 4).

Kannada verbs occur in two forms -- finite or non-finite. Finite verbs can have nothing added to them; and since verbs are found in the last position in the sentence (Subject-Object-Verb), a finite verb effectively ends the sentence (except for clitics (see 4.11.) or reportives (see 4.5.1), which may follow). Non-finite verbs, in contrast, cannot stand alone, and must have some other form following them.

Some of the finite forms of the verb are imperatives, present and past forms marked with person-number-gender (PNG), modals, and verbal nouns. Non-finite forms include infinitives, verbal and adjectival participles, and verb stems.

3.1 Verb stems. Kannada verbs are not listed in a dictionary as infinitives like they are in many western languages; rather, they are entered as singular non-polite imperatives (see 3.3), which in most cases are identical to verb stems, with the addition of an enunciative *u* if the stem ends in a consonant. (Exceptions to this are *baa* 'come' and *taa* 'give', which have irregular stems *bar-* and *tar-* respectively.) The verb stem is a non-finite form to which present tense markers, infinitive markers, and several other grammatical forms are added.

3.1.1 Past verb stems. In addition to "simple" verb stems, Kannada also has past verb stems which are used in forming the past tense, past participles, conditionals, and some other constructions. Past stems also form the base to which contingent PNG markers are added.

Past verb stems are not regular overall, but the majority are formed by adding the past marker *-id-* (see 3.4.3) to the verb stem. (The *d* of these past stems is deleted in several constructions; see rules for individual constructions.) Those past stems not formed with *-id-* are formed in various semi-regular or irregular ways (see 3.4.3.1-8). These forms may often be found in a Kannada-English dictionary (e.g. Ziegler, 1929), but of course in Kannada script.

3.2 The infinitive. The infinitive is a non-finite form of the verb that occurs together with other verbs, auxiliary verbs (modals), negative morphemes, and some other forms. In Kannada there are really two kinds of infinitives, both added to the verb stem. One is basically stem + *-al*, and the other is stem + *-okke*[1].

The infinitive using *-al* is an historically older form, and is called the "second infinitive" in LK (Kittel, 1903:122). Before consonants, the *l* of *-al* is usually deleted in LK, and the *a* may also be removed in SK by the rule of short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6).

bar- 'come' + *-al* + *beeku* 'must' → *bar-beeku* 'must come' (see 3.6.1)
bar- 'come' + *-al* + *-i* 'optative' → *barli* 'let (someone) come' (see 3.3.2)
bar- 'come' + *-al* + *illa* 'negative' → *barlilla* 'didn't come'
niiv ii pustak oodl-ee beeku 'you must definitely read this book' (from
1 2 3 4 5 6 1 6 5 4 2 3
Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972:142)

Infinitives formed with *-okke* are used, among other things, to express purpose.

naan sinimaa nooDok(ke) uurg hoogtiini 'I am-going to town to see a movie'
1 2 3 4/5 6 1 6 5 4 3 2

3.3 The imperative. Kannada verbs exhibit a number of forms that express commands or exhortations. These can have various degrees of politeness and deference, and their use is dependent on a judgment of the relative social status of the person to whom one is speaking. The simplest form is the so-called non-polite, or singular, imperative. In most cases this form (which is the verb form listed in a dictionary) is exactly the same as the verb stem, with an enunciative *u* added if the stem ends in a consonant.

Besides the simple non-polite imperative (e.g. *hoogu* 'Go!'), there is also what might be called an impolite or casual form consisting of the verb stem + *-oo* or *-ee*, for male or female addressees respectively (e.g. *hoogoo/hoogee* 'Go on, get along with you!'). This form is used only with small children, or between good friends; otherwise its use is demeaning and insulting.

The plural form, which also functions as a singular polite form, consists of a verb stem + -*i* (e.g. *hoogi* '(you-pl.) Go!', 'Please go'). There is an even more polite form consisting of verb stem + -*ri*^{2} (e.g. *hoogri* 'please be so kind as to go'). Finally, to add an additional degree of politeness, the 'reflexive' pronoun *taavu* (see 2.5) may be used with the verb stem + -*ri* (e.g. *taavu hoogri* 'Please be so kind as to go').

When the verb stem ends in *i*, the bare stem serves as the non-polite or singular imperative. For plural (or polite) and very polite forms, verb stem + -*ri* is used. The final *i* of the stem may sometimes be lengthened before -*ri*, as in *kuuDiiri* 'Please be so kind as to drink' (McCormack, 1966:22; Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972:154).

Stems that end in *o* add *L(L)* before -*oo*/-*ee*, -*i* or -*ri*.

Examples of imperatives are given below, in ascending order of politeness.

	i-stems:	*o*-stems:	other stems:
	kuDi- 'drink'	*togo*- 'take'	*hoog*- 'go'
impolite, casual	*kuDyoo (-ee)*	*togoLLoo (-ee)*	*hoogoo (-ee)*
non-polite	*kuDi*	*togo*	*hoogu*
polite, plural	*kuDiiri*	*togo*$\left\{\begin{matrix}o\\L\end{matrix}\right\}$*Li*	*hoogi*
very polite	*kuDiiri*	*togoLri*	*hoogri*
super polite	*taavu kuDiiri*	*taavu togoLri*	*taavu hoogri*

The irregular verbs *baa* 'come' and *taa* 'give', with stems *bar*- and *tar*- respectively, have regular (dictionary entry) non-polite forms; however, the impolite imperatives (stem + -*oo*/-*ee*) and the polite forms are irregular.

	baa (bar-) 'come'	*taa (tar-)* 'give'
impolite, casual	*baaroo (-ee)*	*taaroo (-ee)*
non-polite	*baa*	*taa*
polite, plural	*banni*	*tanni*
very polite	*banri*	*tanri*
super polite	*taavu banri*	*taavu tanri*

kriSNa, nii beegane baaroo 'Krishna, come quickly!' (This is a line from a song in Carnatic music, sung to the child Krishna.)

3.3.1 Negative imperative. Kannada also has forms for commanding someone not to do something. One of these is formed by adding *baaradu* (historically a form of *baa/bar-* 'come') to an infinitive with *-al* (see 3.2). However, deletion of the *l* before a consonant, and *a* by short vowel deletion, leave no trace of the *-al* form in SK, except in emphatic prohibitives.

hoog- + -al + baaradu → *hooga + baaradu* → *hoog baardu* 'Don't go!'
hoog- + -al + -ee 'emphatic' + *baaradu* → *hooglee baardu* 'Definitely don't go!'

Other ways of indicating negative imperatives are to use *beeDa* (plural *beeDi*), the negative of the modal *beeku* 'want, need, must, should' (see 3.6.1.4), or the negative modal *kuuDadu* 'must not' (see 3.6.2). These are also attached to an infinitive which has had *l* then *a* deleted, as with *baaradu* above. As with other imperatives, the plural negative often functions as a polite form.

bar beeDa '(I) don't (want you to) come!'
maaD beeDi '(I) don't (want you-pl./polite to) do (something)!'
hoog kuuDdu '(one) must not go!'

3.3.2 Optative. There is a form in Kannada, sometimes called "optative", which is used with 1st or 3rd persons, and is considered by some to be a sort of imperative (but see 3.6.5). It is formed by adding *-i* to the infinitive, and often translates into English as 'let (someone do something)'.

avanu bar- + -al + -i → *avan barli* 'let him come'

When this form is found in questions, it is often closer in meaning to English 'shall, should, may?'

avn yaavaag barli? 'When shall/should/may he come?'
naan allig hoogl-aa? 'Should I go there?'

3.3.3 Hortative. Kannada has a form, called "hortative" by some, which is sometimes considered to be a kind of imperative (Biligiri, 1959:81; but see 3.6.6). It is formed by adding *-ooNa* to the verb stem, and can be translated either as 'let's (do something)' or, especially in the interrogative, as 'shall we (do something)?'.

bar-ooNa 'let's come'
elligaadruu hoog-ooNa 'let's go somewhere'
een maaD-ooNa? 'what shall we do?'
uurg hoog-ooN-vaa? 'shall we go to town?'

3.4 Verbs marked with tense and PNG. Verbs marked with PNG suffixes are always marked for tense (with the exception of some archaic forms left from Old Kannada; cf. Ramanujan, 1963:233), and are finite verbs; but verbs can be marked for tense without PNG markers, in which case they are non-finite verbs (e.g. past verb stems; see 3.1.1).

Verbs marked for tense and PNG have the following structure: verb stem (see 3.1; 3.1.1) + tense marker (see 3.4.2-3) + PNG marker (see 3.4.1).

verb stem	tense marker	PNG marker	
hoog- 'go' +	*-tt-* 'present' +	*-iini* '1st sg.' →	*hoogtiini* 'I go'
maaD- 'do' +	*-id-* 'past' +	*-(a)ru* '2nd pl.' →	*maaDdru* 'he did (something)'
bar- 'come' +	*-nd-* 'past' +	*-e(nu)* '1st sg.' →	*bande* 'I came'

As may be obvious from these examples, not all verbs have the same 'past' tense marker. *maaDu* 'do' has the marker *-id-*, while *baa* (stem *bar-*) 'come' has *-nd-*. Also, Kannada has different sets of PNG markers for different tenses; for example, 1st person singular is *-iini* in the present tense, and *-e(nu)* in the past. In addition, the verb *iru* 'be (located)' is irregular in respect both to tense and PNG markers. These and other complexities are discussed below.

3.4.1 Person-Number-Gender markers. In Kannada finite verbs, PNG markers are added to verbs to indicate "agreement" between the subject and the verb (see 2.4.3). These PNG markers differ according to the tense of the verb they mark. Those used in the present tense are quite different from those used in the contingent, and the past tense forms differ from both present and contingent.

In LK, the PNG markers differ mainly in the length of the vowel, and sometimes in the final vowel (e.g. 1st sg. is *-eene* in the present, and *-enu* in the past); but in SK more complicated changes occur. LK also has a 3rd person plural neuter form (*avu* 'those (things)') with which verbs must agree, but this form does not occur in all SK dialects.[3]

3.4.1.1 Present tense PNG markers. The forms of the PNG markers that occur with the present tense are given below.

	pronoun	present PNG marker	example: *baa* 'come'	
1st sg.	*(naanu)*	*-iini*	*bartiini*	'I come'
2nd sg.	*(niinu)*	*-ii(ya)*	*bartii(ya)*	'you come'
3rd sg. masc.	*(avanu)*	*-aane*	*bartaane*	'he comes'
fem.	*(avaLu)*	*-aaLe*	*bartaaLe*	'she comes'
neuter	*(adu)*	*-atte**	*baratte**	'it comes'
1st pl.	*(naavu)*	*-iivi*	*bartiivi*	'we come'
2nd pl., polite	*(niivu)*	*-iiri*	*bartiiri*	'you come'
3rd pl., polite	*(avaru)*	*-aaru*	*bartaare*	'they/he/she come(s)'
neuter	*(avu)*	*-ave*	*barutve*	'they come'

Since the neuter singular form *-atte* incorporates the present tense marker *-tt-* (*-tt-* + *-ade* → *-atte*), it is attached directly to the verb stem. Some speakers, however, use *-ade* (with the tense marker) instead of *-atte* (e.g. *bartade*), but this is considered less prestigious.

3.4.1.2 PNG markers of *iru* 'be (located)'. Most dialects of SK no longer have a regular future tense, although LK does (with a tense marker *-v-*). The verb *iru* 'be (located)' is the only verb having both present and future/habitual tenses. Both of these tenses use the PNG markers of the present (see 3.4.1.1), which are attached to the stem *idd-* in the present, and to *irt-* in the future/habitual. The future/habitual may mean 'will be' or 'be (always)'.

	pronoun	present	future/habitual
1st sg.	*(naanu)*	*iddiini*	*irtiini*
2nd sg.	*(niinu)*	*iddii(ya)*	*irtii(ya)*
3rd sg. masc.	*(avanu)*	*iddaane*	*irtaane*
fem.	*(avaLu)*	*iddaaLe*	*irtaaLe*
neuter	*(adu)*	*ide**	*iratte**
1st pl.	*(naavu)*	*iddiivi*	*irtiivi*
2nd pl., polite	*(niivu)*	*iddiiri*	*irtiiri*
3rd pl., polite	*(avaru)*	*iddaare*	*irtaare*
neuter	*(avu)*	*ive**	*irutve*

Note the irregular forms for the 3rd singular and plural neuter.

3.4.1.3 Contingent PNG markers. The contingent is a form of the verb that translates as English 'might (do something)'. It has PNG markers attached to the past stem which are similar to SK past tense PNG markers, but with long vowels. (While given below, 2nd person contingent forms are rarely used, except in warnings.

	pronoun	contingent PNG marker	example: *baa* 'come'
1st sg.	*(naanu)*	*-eenu*	*bandeenu* 'I might come'
2nd sg.	*(niinu)*	*-iiye*	*bandiiye* 'you might come'
3rd sg. masc.	*(avanu)*	*-aanu*	*bandaanu* 'he might come'
fem.	*(avaLu)*	*-aaLu*	*bandaaLu* 'she might come'
neuter	*(adu)*	*-iitu*	*bandiitu* 'it might come'
1st pl.	*(naavu)*	*-eevu*	*bandeevu* 'we might come'
2nd pl., polite	*(niivu)*	*-iiri*	*bandiiri* 'you might come'
3rd pl., polite	*(avaru)*	*-aaru*	*bandaaru* 'they might come'
neuter	*(avu)*	*-aavu*	*bandaavu* 'they might come'

3.4.1.4 Past tense PNG markers. The past tense PNG markers, attached to the past stem of the verb, are given below.

	pronoun	past PNG marker	example: *baa* 'come'
1st sg.	*(naanu)*	*-e(nu)**	*bande* 'I came'
2nd sg.	*(niinu)*	*-e* ~ *-i*	*bande/bandi* 'you came'
3rd sg. masc.	*(avanu)*	*-a(nu)**	*banda* 'he came'
fem.	*(avaLu)*	*-(a)Lu**	*bandLu* 'she came'
neuter	*(adu)*	*-(i)tu**	*bantu* 'it came'
1st pl.	*(naavu)*	*-(e)vu*	*bandvu* 'we came'
2nd pl., polite	*(niivu)*	*-(i)ri*	*bandri* 'you came'
3rd pl., polite	*(avaru)*	*-(a)ru*	*bandru* 'they/he/she came'
neuter	*(avu)*	*-(a)vu*	*bandvu* 'they came'

As noted above, the past PNG markers have short vowels where the contingent PNG markers have long vowels; and these short forms are reduced even further by vowel truncation rules. In the singular of 1st and 3rd masculine, the final consonant as well as the enunciative *u* tend to be deleted, leaving only the first vowel of the marker. However, when further suffixes are added, consonant deletion does not take place; instead, both vowels tend to delete. Thus, while in the past declarative the 1st and 2nd singular forms appear the same, before a suffix such as *-aa* 'interrogative' they are distinguished by the surface appearance of the underlying *n* in the 1st singular PNG marker *-e(nu)*, and by the morphophonemically inserted *y* in the 2nd singular. Also, 1st and 3rd masculine singular PNG markers are different in the declarative; but in the interrogative, if vowel deletion occurs they will appear the same.

band(e)naa? 'did I come?'
band(e)yaa? 'did you come?'
band(a)naa? 'did he come?'

In the plural, and in 3rd singular feminine and neuter, it is the first vowel that is deleted in the declarative (with the final vowel being deleted also before suffixes beginning with a vowel).

The deletion of the *i* in the neuter singular PNG marker *-(i)tu* may cause an unacceptable consonant cluster to occur if the verb stem ends in a consonant. In such a case, subsequent consonant cluster simplification will take place (see 1.3.7). In addition, the retroflex *L* of the 3rd singular feminine marker *-(a)Lu* tends to assimilate to the preceding *d* if the vowel *a* is deleted (see 1.3.7).

band- + -(i)tu → *band-tu* → *bantu*
band- + -(a)Lu → *band-Lu* → *bandlu*

3.4.2 Present tense marker. The present tense marker is *-tt-* (except with *iru*, where this marker is used for the future/habitual, and the past stem is used for the present; see 3.4.5.5), and occurs between the verb stem and all PNG markers except the neuter singular *-atte* (see 3.4.1.1). When the verb stem ends in a consonant, *-tt-* may be shortened to *-t-* by a rule of consonant cluster simplification (see 1.3.7).

bar- + -tt- + -iini → *bartiini* 'I come'

Stems with final *i* and *e* (which both appear as *i* on the surface in many SK dialects; see 1.3.8), and those with final *o*, do not delete the final vowel, but tend to lengthen it before *-tt-* (which is then reduced to *-t-* following a long vowel; see 1.2).

bare- 'write' → *bari- + -tt- + -iini* → *bariitiini* 'I write'
togo- 'take (for oneself)' + *-tt- + -iini* → *togootiini* 'I take (for myself)'

3.4.3 Past tense markers. Grammars of Kannada generally state that the past tense marker is *-id-*, but with many irregular exceptions (cf. Spencer, 1950:88); or they may state that the past is *-id-* or *-t-*, with exceptions (cf. Biligiri, 1959:84). The fact is that the vast majority of Kannada verbs form the past with *-id-* attached to the verb stem, a small number with *-t-*, and the rest undergo various changes, among which some sub-regularities may be discerned.[4]

3.4.3.1 Past of "weak" verbs. Many grammarians of Kannada call verbs that take *-id-* past tense markers "weak" verbs (and all others "strong" verbs). Verbs which take *-id-* all end in consonants.

maaD-	'make, do'	*maaDid-*	'made, done'
malag-	'sleep'	*malagid-*	'slept'
haar-	'jump'	*haarid-*	'jumped'

Verbs ending in the 'causative' suffix *-isu* (see 3.9) always take the *-id-* past marker. When short vowels are deleted in such verbs, the *i* and enunciative *u* of *-isu* are usually eliminated; but the *i* of *-id-* is sometimes kept to avoid clusters of three consonants.

kali- 'learn' + *-isu* 'causative' + *-id-* 'past' → *kalsid-* 'taught'

3.4.3.2 Past of stems ending in a nasal consonant. Verb stems ending in a nasal consonant tend to add just *-d-* in the past; and if the nasal is a retroflex, *-d-* assimilates and becomes *-D-*. If the nasal is geminate, one of the nasals is deleted in consonant cluster reduction.

an-	'say'	*and-*	'said'
kaaN-	'seem'	*kaND-*	'seemed'
tinn-	'eat'	*tind-*	'ate'

Note that the long *aa* of *kaaN-* shortens in the past.

3.4.3.3 Past of stems with final lateral. Verb stems ending in a lateral *l* or *L* are quite unpredictable in their past stem formation.

biiL-	'fall'	*bidd-*	'fell'
gell-	'win'	*gedd-*	'won'
heeL-	'say'	*heeLid-*	'said'
huuL-	'bury'	*huut-*	'buried'
sool-	'lose'	*soot-*	'lost'
kiiL-	'dig up'	*kitt-*	'dug up'
nill-	'stand'	*nint-*	'stood'
koll-	'kill'	*kond-*	'killed'

3.4.3.4 Past of stems with final *y*. In stems which end in *y*, the final *y* tends to change to a nasal; and the long vowel tends to shorten. However, there are exceptions.

beey-	'	*bend-*	
nooy-	'hurt'	*nond-*	'hurt'
saay-	'die'	*satt-*	'died'
kaay-	'wait'	*kaad-*	'waited'

3.4.3.5 Past of short vowel stems ending in *r*. Verb stems which end in *r*, and have a short vowel, undergo irregular changes in the past stems.

bar-	'come'	*band-*	'came'
tar-	'give'	*tand-*	'gave'
her-	'give birth'	*hett-*	'gave birth'
hor-	'carry'	*hott-*	'carried'
ir-	'be (located)'	*idd-*	'was (located)'

Stems with a long vowel, and ending in *r*, add the regular ("weak") *-id-*.

heer-	'load'	*heerid-*	'loaded'
haar-	'jump'	*haarid-*	'jumped'

3.4.3.6 Past of short vowel stems ending in *D*. Stems with a short vowel which end in *D* tend to double and de-voice the retroflex stop, so the final *D* becomes *TT*.

biD-	'leave'	*biTT-*	'left'
koD-	'give'	*koTT-*	'gave'
iD-	'put, place'	*iTT-*	'put, placed'
neD-	'plant'	*neTT-*	'planted'

Stems ending in *D* that have a long vowel add the "weak" marker *-id*.

maaD-	'do, make'	*maaDid-*	'done, made'
haaD-	'sing'	*haaDid-*	'sang'

3.4.3.7 Past of stems ending in *i*. Some verbs ending in *i* in SK have a final *e* in LK (which changes to *i* by a vowel raising rule; see 1.3.8). SK verb stems ending in *i* form the past by deleting the final vowel and adding *-d-* or *-t-*.

bari- (LK *bare-*) 'write'	*bard-* 'wrote'
mari- (LK *mare-*) 'forget'	*mart-* 'forgot'
kali- 'learn'	*kalt-* 'learned'

3.4.3.8 Past of stems ending in *o*. All verbs in SK which end in *o* are historically derived from verb + *koLLu* ('reflexive' aspect marker; see 3.8.8) by various reduction rules. Since the past stem of *koLLu* is *koND-*, stems with final *o* add *-ND-* to form the past stem.

togo- ∿ *takko-* 'take (for oneself)'	*togoND-* ∿ *takkoND-* 'took'
okko- ∿ *vakko-* 'wash (one's clothes)'	*okkoND-* ∿ *vakkoND-* 'washed'
malko- ∿ *makko-* 'lie down'	*malkoND-* ∿ *makkoND-* 'lay down'

3.4.3.9 Past of other irregular stems. The verbs *hoogu* 'go', *aagu* 'become' and *nagu* 'laugh' have irregular past stems. *hoogu* and *aagu* have two past stems, one which appears with past neuter PNG, and the other which is used with PNG other than neuter.

hoog- 'go'	*hood-/hooy-* 'went'
aag- 'become'	*aad-/aay-* 'became'
nag- 'laugh'	*nakk-* 'laughed'

hooy- and *aay-* are used with neuter singular PNG, and the stems in *-d* with non-neuter.

ad hooytu 'it went'	*avan hooda* 'he went'

3.4.4 Other tenses. Kannada has other forms of the verb that are often called tenses, but which we prefer to treat as compound tenses, aspect, or other categories of the verb.

Except with *iru* 'be (located)', the future tense is no longer used in most SK dialects, although it occurs in LK (see 3.4.1.2) and in some regional dialects such as the Kumta dialect (Upadhyaya, 1976:105). The PNG markers used with the LK future are similar to the positive contingent PNG markers (see 3.4.1.3) but with short vowels, and with *-udu* or *-adu* in the neuter singular (Spencer, 1950:47).

3.4.5 Examples of verbs conjugated. Following are examples of Kannada finite verbs conjugated in different tenses and marked with PNG, to show the complete sets (paradigms) and how they agree with their subjects. The subjects given here are in the form of pronouns, although they may be other constituents such as nouns, pronominalized adjectives, proper nouns (names), etc.

In all cases, the 2nd and 3rd plural forms given below may also be used as singular polite.

3.4.5.1 "Weak" verbs. Verbs that take the past tense marker *-id-* are often called "weak" verbs by Kannada grammarians.

Example: *maaDu* 'do, make'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.1)
naanu 'I'	*maaDtiini*	_maaD(y)eenu_*	*maaDde*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*maaDtii(ya)*	*maaDiiye*	*maaDde*
avanu 'he'	*maaDtaane*	_maaD(y)aanu_*	*maaDda*
avaLu 'she'	*maaDtaaLe*	_maaD(y)aaLu_*	*maaDidlu*
adu 'it'	*maaDatte*	*maaDiitu*	*maaD(i)tu*
naavu 'we'	*maaDtiivi*	_maaD(y)eevu_*	*maaDidvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*maaDtiiri*	*maaDiiri*	*maaDidri*
avaru 'they'	*maaDtaare*	_maaD(y)aaru_*	*maaDidru*
avu 'they'	*maaDutve*	_maaD(y)aavu_*	*maaDidvu*

Note that since the stem used with the contingent PNG markers is actually the past stem (with *d* deleted in "weak" verbs; see 3.1.1), in some dialects the *i* of the past appears as a *y*-glide before the PNG markers that do not begin with *ii* (Biligiri, 1959:90); but in most dialects the contingent forms are more common without *y*.

3.4.5.2 Stems ending in a nasal.

Example: *tinnu* 'eat'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.2)
naanu 'I'	*tintiini*	*tindeenu*	*tinde*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*tintii(ya)*	*tindiiye*	*tinde*
avanu 'he'	*tintaane*	*tindaanu*	*tinda*
avaLu 'she'	*tintaaLe*	*tindaaLu*	*tindlu*
adu 'it'	*tinatte*	*tindiitu*	*tintu*

Example: *tinnu* 'eat' (cont'd)

pronoun	present	contingent	past
naavu 'we'	*tintiivi*	*tindeevu*	*tindvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*tintiiri*	*tindiiri*	*tindri*
avaru 'they'	*tintaare*	*tindaaru*	*tindru*
avu 'they'	*tinnutve*	*tindaavu*	*tindvu*

3.4.5.3 Stems with final lateral.

Example: *biiLu* 'fall'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.3)
naanu 'I'	*biiLtiini*	*biddeenu*	*bidde*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*biiLtii(ya)*	*biddiiye*	*bidde*
avanu 'he'	*biiLtaane*	*biddaanu*	*bidda*
avaLu 'she'	*biiLtaaLe*	*biddaaLu*	*bidlu*
adu 'it'	*biiLatte*	*biddiitu*	*bittu*
naavu 'we'	*biiLtiivi*	*biddeevu*	*bidvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*biiLtiiri*	*biddiiri*	*bidri*
avaru 'they'	*biiLtaare*	*biddaaru*	*bidru*
avu 'they'	*biiLutve*	*biddaavu*	*bidvu*

3.4.5.4 Stems ending in *y*.

Example: *saayu* 'die'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.4)
naanu 'I'	*saaytiini*	*satteenu*	*satte*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*saaytii(ya)*	*sattiiye*	*satte*
avanu 'he'	*saaytaane*	*sattaanu*	*satta*
avaLu 'she'	*saaytaaLe*	*sattaaLu*	*satlu*
adu 'it'	*saayatte*	*sattiitu*	*sattu*
naavu 'we'	*saaytiivi*	*satteevu*	*satvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*saaytiiri*	*sattiiri*	*satri*
avaru 'they'	*saaytaare*	*sattaaru*	*satru*
avu 'they'	*saayutve*	*sattaavu*	*satvu*

3.4.5.5 Short vowel stems with final *r*. An example of a short vowel stem ending in *r* has been given for *baa/bar-* 'come' (see 3.4.1.1/3/4). In addition, some information on the irregular verb *iru* 'be (located)' has been provided (see 3.4.1.2). Since *iru* is used in many constructions, a full paradigm of all its tenses (including future/habitual, which it alone takes in most SK dialects) is given below.

Example: *iru* 'be (located)'

pronoun	present*	contingent	past	future/habitual*
naanu 'I'	*iddiini*	*iddeenu*	*idde*	*irtiini*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*iddii(ya)*	*iddiiye*	*idde*	*irtii(ya)*
avanu 'he'	*iddaane*	*iddaanu*	*idda*	*irtaane*
avaLu 'she'	*iddaaLe*	*iddaaLu*	*idlu*	*irtaaLe*
adu 'it'	*ide**	*iddiitu*	*ittu**	*iratte*
naavu 'we'	*iddiivi*	*iddeevu*	*idvu*	*irtiivi*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*iddiiri*	*iddiiri*	*idri*	*irtiiri*
avaru 'they'	*iddaare*	*iddaaru*	*idru*	*irtaare*
avu 'they (those things)	*ive* *iddaave*	*iddaavu*	*idvu*	*irutve*

Note that *iru* is irregular in a number of respects, among which is the fact that it takes the past stem *idd-* in the present tense, as well as in the past and contingent; and it uses the stem *irt-* in the future/habitual. It also has an irregular 3rd singular neuter present form *ide*, rather than the expected **iddade* and past form *ittu* instead of **idtu*.

3.4.5.6 Short vowel stems with final *D*.

Example: *koDu* 'give'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.6)
naanu 'I'	*koDtiini*	*koTTeenu*	*koTTe*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*koDtii(ya)*	*koTTiiye*	*koTTe*
avanu 'he'	*koDtaane*	*koTTaanu*	*koTTa*
avaLu 'she'	*koDtaaLe*	*koTTaaLu*	*koTLu*
adu 'it'	*koDatte*	*koTTiitu*	*koTtu*
naavu 'we'	*koDtiivi*	*koTTeevu*	*koTvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*koDtiiri*	*koTTiiri*	*koTri*
avaru 'they'	*koDtaare*	*koTTaaru*	*koTru*
avu 'they (those things)	*koDutve*	*koTTaavu*	*koTvu*

3.4.5.7 Stems with final *i*. Verb stems with final *i* (from LK *i* or *e*; see 1.3.8) drop this vowel before past tense markers; but before the present tense marker, final *i* is lengthened to *ii* (see 3.4.2).

Example: *kali* 'learn'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.7)
naanu 'I'	*kaliitiini*	*kalteenu*	*kalte*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*kaliitii(ya)*	*kaltiiye*	*kalte*
avanu 'he'	*kaliitaane*	*kaltaanu*	*kalta*
avaLu 'she'	*kaliitaaLe*	*kaltaaLu*	*kaltlu**
adu 'it'	*kaliyatte*	*kaltiitu*	*kaliitu**
naavu 'we'	*kaliitiivi*	*kalteevu*	*kaltvu**
niivu 'you (pl.)	*kaliitiiri*	*kaltiiri*	*kaltri**
avaru 'they'	*kaliitaare*	*kaltaaru*	*kaltru**
avu 'they'	*kalyatve*	*kaltaavu*	*kaltvu**

Example: *bari* 'write'

naanu 'I'	*bariitiini*	*bardeenu*	*barde*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*bariitii(ya)*	*bardiiye*	*barde*
avanu 'he'	*bariitaane*	*bardaanu*	*barda*
avaLu 'she'	*bariitaaLe*	*bardaaLu*	*bardlu**
adu 'it'	*bariyatte*	*bardiitu*	*bariitu**
naavu 'we'	*bariitiivi*	*bardeevu*	*bardvu**
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*bariitiiri*	*bardiiri*	*bardri**
avaru 'they'	*bariitaare*	*bardaaru*	*bardru**
avu 'they'	*baryatve*	*bardaavu*	*bardvu**

Because of various historical processes of assimilation, the 3rd singular neuter forms are irregular in the past of these verbs. Also in the feminine singular and all plural forms in the past, consonant clusters of three consonants occur (the first and third of which are continuants). In somewhat careful speech, a reduced vowel may occur between consonants to break up the cluster. Morphophonemically this vowel is the *i* of the underlying form; but phonetically it is closer to a very short more central [ɨ].

bardlu ∿ *baridlu* [bərɨdlu]] 'she wrote'
bardvu ∿ *baridvu* [bɔrɨdvu]] 'we wrote'
kaltri ∿ *kalitri* [kɔlɨtriˇ]] 'you (pl.) learned'

3.4.5.8 Stems ending in *o*. Final *o* stem verbs lengthen the final *o* before the present tense marker (see 3.4.2).

Example: *togo* 'take (for oneself)'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.8)
naanu 'I'	*togootiini*	*togoNDeenu*	*togoNDe*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*togootii(ya)*	*togoND*	*togoNDe*
avanu 'he'	*togootaane*	*togoNDaanu*	*togoNDa*
avaLu 'she'	*togootaaLe*	*togoNDaaLu*	*togoNDLu*
adu 'it'	*togooLatte**	*togoNDiitu*	*togootu**
naavu 'we'	*togootiivi*	*togoNDeevu*	*togoNDvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*togootiiri*	*togoNDiiri*	*togoNDri*
avaru 'they'	*togootaare*	*togoNDaaru*	*togoNDru*
avu 'they'	*togooLatve*	*togoNDaavu*	*togoNDvu*

Note that because of their historical derivation, the 3rd singular neuter forms are irregular in both present and past tense forms. The *L* which is found in the present form *togooLatte* is a surface manifestation from the aspect marker *koLLu* which is part of the underlying form of *togo* (see 3.8.8).

3.4.5.9 Other irregular verbs.

Example: *hoogu* 'go'

pronoun	present	contingent	past (see 3.4.3.9)
naanu 'I'	*hoogtiini*	*hoodeenu*	*hoode*
niinu 'you (sg.)'	*hoogtii(ya)*	*hoodiiye*	*hoode*
avanu 'he'	*hoogtaane*	*hoodaanu*	*hooda*
avaLu 'she'	*hoogtaaLe*	*hoodaaLu*	*hoodlu*
adu 'it'	*hoogatte*	*hoodiitu*	*hooytu**
naavu 'we'	*hoogtiivi*	*hoodeevu*	*hoodvu*
niivu 'you (pl.)'	*hoogtiiri*	*hoodiiri*	*hoodri*
avaru 'they'	*hoogtaare*	*hoodaaru*	*hoodru*
avu 'they'	*hoogatve*	*hoodaavu*	*hoodvu*

Note the irregular form for the neuter singular past (3.4.3.9).

3.5 Participles. Participles are non-finite verb forms that function verbally or adjectivally, or have some special syntactic function in the sentence. They occur primarily in rather complex sentences, and their syntactic properties are discussed in detail under syntax (see section 4).

Participles may be either affirmative or negative; the affirmative participles can be marked for tense, but the negative forms are not (although constructions can involve the negative participles of *iru* 'be' attached to the main verb to give aspectual or tense-like meanings; see 3.5.3/7/9). The overall tense of participial constructions is determined by the tense (or aspect) of the main verb.

3.5.1 Present verbal participles. The present verbal participle is formed by adding *-aa* to the verb stem + *-tt-* 'present'. It is followed by a finite verb or verb phrase, and indicates that the actions (or states) of the participial verb and main verb are simultaneous.

avn yoocne maaDtaa kuutidda 'He was sitting thinking (making thought)'
1 2 3 4/5 1 5 4 3 2

When the present verbal participle is followed by *iru* 'be', the construction is similar to the English "progressive tense" (see 3.8.10), and may be past, present, or future/habitual depending on the tense of *iru*. Often the *-aa* may be deleted in this construction; but when it is present, it indicates emphasis on the immediacy of the action or its durative aspect.

maaDt-iddiini 'I am doing (something)'

maaDt-aa iddiini 'I am doing (something) (right now)'

3.5.2 Past verbal participles. The past verbal participle is followed by a finite verb or verb phrase, and indicates that the action (or state) of the participial verb preceded that of the main verb. It is similar to the English 'having (done something)'.

The past verbal participle is the same as the past stem (see 3.1.1) for strong verbs, plus enunciative *u* if the stem ends in a consonant (e.g. *band-* 'came' → *bandu* 'having come'). If the verb is regular ("weak"), the *d* of the past stem is deleted (e.g. *maaDid-* 'did' → *maaDi* 'having done'). *hoogu* 'go' and *aagu* 'become' have irregular past participles *hoogi* and *aagi* respectively.

uurg bande 'Having done that, I came to town'

hoogi + biTTu + banni → *hoog-biTT-banni* 'Come again ('go and come')'

3.5.3 Negative verbal participles. Negative participles cannot take tense markers, so the same negative verbal participle is used to express the negative of both the present and past verbal participles. These negative participles, expressing the notions 'not doing (something)' or 'not having done (something)', are formed by adding *-ade* to the verb stem, or to the negative stem *ill-* if the verb is *iru* 'be'.

illade	'not being/having been'
barade	'not coming/having come'
al hoogade, ilgee bande	'Not going/having gone (instead of/without going) there, I came here'
nooDade hoode	'I went without seeing/having seen (something)'

To make additional "tense" (aspectual) distinctions, *illade* may be added to the present and past participles of verbs.

bartaa illade	'without continuing to come'
band-illade	'without/not having come'

3.5.4 Use of adjectival participles. Unlike English, where only certain verbs can be used adjectivally before nouns (e.g. 'the rat-infested house', 'the moth-eaten coat', 'the man-eating tiger'), in Kannada any verb may be made into an adjective by using one of the adjectival participle formations below. This is the main way of forming adjectives in Kannada, and is also the primary way that the language has of making relative clause constructions (see 4.9.)

3.5.5 Present adjectival participles. The present adjectival participle is formed by adding *-oo* (from LK *-uva*, by morphophonemic rules; see 1.3.5.1) to the present verb stem. This makes an adjective out of a verb.

baroo vaara	'the coming week, next week'

3.5.6 Past adjectival participles. The past adjectival participle is formed by adding *-a* to the past stem of the verb. Often this *-a* is not present in colloquial speech because of short vowel deletion (see 1.3.6).

hood(a) vaara	'last week (the week that went)'
band(a) huDga	'the boy who came (the came boy)'
hoog-idd(a) aaga	'the time when (someone) went (the having gone time)'
nooD-id(da) haage	'as if having seen (the having seen way)'

Some verbs (e.g. "dative-stative" verbs; see 3.7) have no past stem, so they attach *aagu* 'become' in its past adjectival form *aada* to the verb stem to make an adjective.

beek-aad(a) pustaka 'the book that is/was needed ('the needed book')

3.5.7 Negative adjectival participles. The negative adjectival participle is formed by adding *-ada* to the verb stem. The verb *iru* 'be' uses the negative stem *ill-* for this form.

nooDada pustaka 'the unseen book'
illada haNa 'the money that is/was not (somewhere)'

Since negative participles do not take tense markers, to make "tense" or aspectual distinctions in the negative *illada* can be affixed to past verbal participles.

band-illada huDga 'the boy who had not come'

3.5.8 Verbal/participial nouns. Verbal nouns of various sorts can be formed by taking adjectival participles (especially present forms) and affixing demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1) to them. The most common of these is the neuter singular *adu*; but personal verbal nouns (sometimes called "participial nouns") can also be formed.

maaD- + -oo + adu → *maaDoodu* 'the (act/fact of) doing, that which does'
nooD- + -oo + adu → *nooDoodu* 'the (act/fact of) seeing, that which sees'
nooD- + -oo + avaru → *nooDooru* 'those (people) who see'
band- + -a + avaru → *bandavru* ∿ *bandooru* 'those (people) who came'
ninne bandooru nan sneetru 'The people who came yesterday are my friends'

Note that neuter verbal nouns can mean 'the act of (doing something)', 'the fact of (doing something)' or 'that which (does something)'.

3.5.9 Negative verbal/participial nouns. Negative verbal nouns can be formed by affixing the negative adjectival participle (see 3.5.7) to demonstrative pronouns (see 2.5.1).

maaD- + -ada + adu → *maaDaddu* ~ *maaDdadu* '(the act/fact of) not doing, that which does/did not do'
ill- + -ada + adu → $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{illaddu}\\ \textit{ildaddu}\end{array}\right.$ '(the act/fact of) not being, that which is/was not'
hoog- + -ada + avaLu → *hoogadooLu* 'the woman who does/did not go'

Since negative participles are tenseless, these forms are used for all tenses; but aspectual distinctions can be made by affixing the negative adjectival participle of *iru* (*illadadu*) to past participles of main verbs.

banda + *illadadu* → *bandilladdu* ∿ *bandildu* 'that which has/had not come'

3.6 Modal auxiliaries. Kannada has a number of modal auxiliary verbs that are attached to the *-al* form of the infinitive (see 3.2) to give such notions as 'may, might, can, must, should, ought, could' and their negatives. The modal form follows the last verb in a sequence of verbs, and (with a few exceptions) is not marked for PNG. As noted earlier (see 3.2), the *l* of *-al* is deleted before consonants, and the *a* is often eliminated by short vowel deletion.

Opinions differ as to just what is included in the inventory of modal verbs in modern SK. There are, of course, differences between those found in LK (cf. for example, Hodson, 1864:41) and SK, especially in the dialects (cf. Hiremath's treatment of the Dharwar dialect, in which modals are not even mentioned, but where some of what we call modals are incorporated into the paradigm of tenses (Hiremath, 1961:79-89)). Spencer (1959) considers modal verbs simply to be defective verbs, archaic offspring of verbs like *aagu* 'become' and *baa* 'come', and does not even discuss them under the same heading.

Older forms of Kannada had modals such as *ball-* 'can, know how to', *aap-* 'can, be able', and their negatives *ari-* and *aar-* (Hodson, 1864:41). Only *aar-* is still used in "standard" SK, although some others are used in some regional and social dialects (cf. Ullrich, 1968).[5]

As with other Dravidian languages, Kannada modals are often asymmetrical in the negative; that is, the negative forms do not exactly parallel the affirmative, or there may be forms that overlap somewhat in meaning. As with many other languages of the world, modal verbs in Kannada may have a number of different meanings; and when these meanings co-occur with certain main verbs, the entire phrase may have unexpected connotations.

In any attempt to provide a simple catalogue of modal forms, therefore, it is necessary to simplify things to a certain extent, and also to consider that under different theoretical frameworks the forms discussed here might be classified differently.

3.6.1 The modal *beeku* 'want, need, must, should, ought'. The auxiliary modal *beeku* is attached to the infinitive of the verb, and gives the meaning '(someone) must/wants to (do something)', etc. *beeku* also has an "epistemic" meaning; in addition to 'must' in the sense of necessity, it can also mean 'it must be the case that'.

naan hoog beeku 'I ought/need/want to-go'
1 2 3 1 3 2

niiv naaLe ill ir beeku 'You must/should be here tomorrow'
1 2 3 4 5 1 5 4 3 2

niiv avarn nooD-ir beeku 'You must have seen him (it must be true...)'
1 2 3 4 5 1 5 4 3 2

3.6.1.1 Other "tenses" of *beeku*. Since *beeku* has no tense or PNG markers, it cannot be "conjugated" like other verbs. However, it can occur with other auxiliary (aspectual and modal) verbs, especially with *iru* 'be' and *aagu* 'become'; and these verbs, or the verbs to which they are attached in the verb phrase, may be marked for or indicate "tense". (For a description of the uses of aspectual verbs, see 3.8.2-13.)

band-ir beeku 'must have come'
bart(aa)-ir beeku 'must be coming'
beek-aagatte 'will be/become necessary'
bar beek-aagittu 'ought to have come'
beek-aag boodu 'may become necessary'
hoogt(aa)-ir beek-aagittu 'should have been going'
niiv sinimaa nooD beek-aagittu[6] 'You should have seen the movie'

3.6.1.2 *beeku* with 'quotative' *anta*. Verbs suffixed to *beeku* can also occur before the 'quotative' particle *anta*, with the meaning 'intend (to do something)' (see 4.

naan hoog beek-ant iddiini 'I intend to go/feel like going'

3.6.1.3 *beeku* with 'emphatics'. To strengthen the emphasis of the modal *beeku*, 'emphatic' *-ee* may be added to the infinitive of the preceding verb. Since in this case the infinitive precedes a vowel, the underlying *l* of the infinitive ending shows on the surface (i.e. *-l-ee*).

aa meel pustak oodlee beeku 'Afterwards (one) must read the book'
1 2 3 4/5 6 1/2 5/6 4 3

3.6.1.4 Negative of *beeku*: *beeDa, beeDi*. The negative of *beeku* is *beeDa* 'should not, must not, need not', with a more polite or plural form *beeDi*. This form is also used as a negative imperative 'Don't (do something)!' (see 3.3.1).

naaLe bar beeDa 'It is not necessary to come tomorrow', 'Don't come tomorrow!'

beeDa/beeDi can also occur with other modal and aspectual verbs in some of the same constructions as does *beeku*.

bart(aa)-ir beeDa 'Don't be coming (when...)!'

3.6.2 The negative modal *kuuDadu* 'should not'. When *beeDa* (see 3.6.1.4) is used as a negative imperative, it is similar to (but slightly stronger than) the negative imperative *baaradu* (see 3.3.1). The strongest negative is indicated by the use of the modal *kuuDadu*. This is attached to the infinitive, as are *beeDa* and *baaradu*.

jooD haak-koNDu, guDiyoLag hoog kuuDdu '(One) should-never go into a
1 2 3/4 5 6 6 5 4
temple while-wearing shoes'
3 2 1

Note the contrast of negative emphasis in imperatives.

bar baardu 'Don't come!'

bar beeDa '(I) don't (want you to) come!'

bar kuuDdu '(One) should/must not come!'

3.6.3 The modal *boodu* 'may, can'. The auxiliary verb *boodu* (LK *bahadu* → *bahdu* ∿ *boodu* by morphophonemic rules; see 1.3.5.1) is attached to the infinitive, and has the meaning '(someone) can/may (do something)'. The main meaning is 'can' in the sense of 'be able' rather than that (found especially in modern American speech) of 'permission; and the sense of 'probability' is also possible.

niiv avarn al rooD boodu 'You can/might see him there'
1 2 3 4 5 1 5 4 2 3

ii pustka maneg togoND hoog bood-aa? 'Can/may (I) take this book home?'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 6 4/5 1 2 3 7

avarn al nooD-ir boodu '(One) might have seen him there'
1 2 3 4 5 5 4 3 1 2

3.6.3.1 Negative of *boodu*. The negative form equivalent to the positive *boodu* is *baaradu*. This is the negative imperative form as well (see 3.3.1).

id togoND hoog baaradu '(One) can't/shouldn't take this away (having taken, go)'

3.6.4 Negative contingent *aar-* 'cannot, might not'. When the modal *aar-* with PNG markers is attached to the verbal infinitive, the meaning is 'cannot, may not', both in the sense of lack of ability and that of potential non-occurrence. This form is the negative equivalent of the contingent verb forms (see 3.4.1.3), and other grammarians sometimes prefer to call this negative contingent a "tense" as well. It is classified here as a modal since, except for being marked for PNG, it acts more like other modals both syntactically and semantically.

The PNG endings used with *aar-* are similar to those used with the past (see 3.4.1.4); however, the PNG marker for neuter is different (*-du* instead of the past PNG marker *-tu* (Biligiri, 1959:85)).[7] The following is a complete paradigm of a verb marked for negative contingency. (Note that the final *l* of the infinitive appears, because *aar-* begins with a vowel.)

			negative contingent		
		pronoun	PNG markers	example: *nag-* 'laugh'	
1st sg.		*(naanu)*	*-e(nu)*	*naglaare(nu)*	'I can/might not laugh'
2nd sg.		*(niinu)*	*-e*	*naglaare*	'you can/might not laugh'
3rd sg.	masc.	*(avanu)*	*-a(nu)*	*naglaara(nu)*	'he can/might not laugh'
	fem.	*(avaLu)*	*-(a)Lu*	*naglaar(a)Lu*	'she can/might not laugh'
	neuter	*(adu)*	*-(a)du*	*naglaar(a)du*	'it can/might not laugh'
1st pl.		*(naavu)*	*-(e)vu*	*naglaar(e)vu*	'we can/might not laugh'
2nd pl.,	polite	*(niivu)*	*-(i)ri*	*naglaar(i)ri*	'you can/might not laugh'
3rd pl.,	polite	*(avaru)*	*-(a)ru*	*naglaar(a)ru*	'they can/might not laugh'
	neuter	*(avu)*	*-(a)vu*	*naglaar(a)vu*	'they can/might not laugh'

3.6.5 The 'optative' modal *-i* 'let'. The 'optative', sometimes considered a kind of imperative (see 3.3.2), is used with first and third persons. It is formed by attaching *-i* to the infinitive, and gives the meaning 'let (someone do omething)'. Since it is attached to the infinitive like most other modals, and semantically (especially in question form) it is close to the meaning of other modals, we choose to consider it a modal.

avaru hoog- + -al + -i → *avar hoogli* 'let them/him go'

naan ivattu bar- + -al + -i + -aa? → *naan ivat barl-aa?* 'Should I come today?'

Note that while the 'optative' i in the latter example sentence is deleted, the *l* of the infinitival form remains.

3.6.6 The 'hortative' modal *-ooNa* 'let's'. The modal *-ooNa*[8] is also often classified as an imperative form (see 3.3.3). *-ooNa* is attached to the verb stem, rather than to the infinitive as with other modals. In the declarative, its meaning is generally an exhortation 'let's (do something)'; but when 'interrogative' *-aa* is added, the meaning is more clearly like other modals.

nooD-ooNa	'let's see (something)'
uuTa maaDooN-vaa?	'shall we eat?'
hoog-ooN-vaa?	'Shall we go?'

Note the insertion of the glide *v* between the final *a* of *-ooNa* and the 'interrogative' *-aa* (see 1.3.5), which occurs before the deletion of the *a* of *-ooNa*.

3.6.6.1 Negative of *-ooNa*. The negative of *-ooNa*, 'let's not (do something') is usually *beeDa/beeDi* (the negative of *beeku*; see 3.6.1.4) which is attached to the verbal noun (see 3.5.8).

beeDa, hoogood beeDa 'No, let's not go'

3.6.7 Table of affirmative and negative modal forms. As already mentioned (see 3.6), Kannada affirmative and negative modals do not match up on a one-to-one basis. This is mainly due to differing "scope" of the negation; that is, what is being negated may be the verbal action or the 'necessity' expressed by the modal. Thus, the negation of 'coming is required' may be either 'not coming is required' or 'coming is not required'. Each affirmative form may be negated in different ways, depending on how strongly the speaker wishes to emphasize the negative, or which part of the verbal phrase is meant to be negated.

affirmative forms		negative forms	
beeku	'want, need, should, must, ought to'	*beeDa/beeDi* *kuuDadu*	'not wanted, not needed, should not, must not, ought not, need not'
boodu	'can, may, might'	*baaradu* *aar-* + PNG	'cannot, may not, might not'
-i	'let' (1st and 3rd persons)	vb. noun + *beeDa*	'no, don't, let's not'
		baaradu	'can't, don't'
-ooNa	'let's, shall (we)?'	vb. noun + *beeDa*	'let's not, shouldn't'
		kuuDadu	'shouldn't, must not (ever)'

3.7 Dative-stative or "defective" verbs. Kannada has a number of verbs that do not behave morphologically and syntactically like other main verbs. They have been called "defective" by some grammarians, in that they lack many of the forms that regular verbs have. Elsewhere they have been called "impersonal constructions" (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972:138). We call them "dative-stative" verbs because semantically they are stative (describing states rather than actions), and they require that the "subjects" of their sentences be in the dative case (see 4.0.1).

With dative-stative verbs, instead of saying something like 'I want this', with the verb 'want' agreeing in PNG with the subject 'I', Kannada sentences would have the structure 'to me this is wanted, with the "subject" usually in the dative case and the verb marked for neuter PNG. (Dative-stative verbs that do sometimes agree with nominative "objects" are noted below.) Dative-stative verbs also are unmarked for tense, although there are some ways of distinguishing between 'habitual' and 'non-habitual' aspects.

In form, many of the dative-stative verbs resemble modals (see 3.6); and in fact some modals such as *beeku* may be used without lexical verbs in dative-stative constructions. Some authors even consider these dative-stative verbs to be modals (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972:134).

The most common dative-stative verbs are *saaku* 'be sufficient', *sikku* 'be available, be met', *gottu* 'be known', *beeku* 'want, need', and *iSTa* 'like' (which is the noun 'desire', probably operating in these constructions as noun + verb, with the verb deleted). *sikku* also operates in some respects like a "regular" verb, and *beeku* is also a "regular" modal (see 3.6.1). Other verbs also appear in dative-stative constructions, such as *iru* with the meaning 'have' (i.e. 'to someone is something') and *baa* meaning 'know' (i.e. 'to someone comes something'). In addition, *aagu* 'become' may appear in dative-stative constructions with nouns, and *hoogu* with transitive verbs.

These verbs can be negated (although some of the negative forms are irregular), and they may appear with modals or aspectual markers.

3.7.1 Paradigms of dative-stative verbs. Since dative-stative verbs do not take tense markers, they have a 'habitual' sense when they stand alone. They may appear in a 'negative habitual' form, indicating that the meaning of the verb is 'habitually not (doing something)'; or, when they occur with *iru* or *aagu* the effect is to make them 'non-habitual', usually with a 'perfect' or 'final' meaning (see 3.8.9 and 3.8.11).

	saaku 'suffice'	*sikku* 'be available'	*gottu* 'be known'	*beeku* 'want, need'	*iSTa* 'like'
habitual	*saaku*	*sikku*	*gottu*	*beeku*	*iSTa*
neg. hab.	*saaldu*	*siklilla*	*gottilla*	*beeDa*	*iSTa-illa*
perfect	*saak-aag-ide*	*sikk-ide*	*gott-ide*	*beek-aag-ide*	*iSTa-ide*
finality	*saak-aaytu*	*sikk-aaytu*	*gott-aaytu*	*beek-aaytu*	*iST(a)-aaytu*

3.7.2 "Regular" forms of *sikku*. *sikku* 'be available, be met' appears in some respects more like a "regular" verb than other dative-stative verbs; that is, it may occur with PNG endings other than neuter (although still with a dative "subject"), and in some conditional (see 3.10) and verbal noun (see 3.5.8) constructions. Note that PNG markers attached to *sikku* agree with the "object" noun (which is in the nominative case).

avar ninne nange sikkidru 'I met him yesterday (he was-met to me yesterday)'
1 2 3/4 5 — 1 5 4 3 2

avar sikkid-re, naan nooDtiini 'If he is-available, I will-see (him)'
1 2 3 4 5 — 3 1 2 4 5

maarkeTTall sikk-ood-ella togoND band-biDi 'Bring whatever is available in the market (all that is-available in the market having-taken, come)'
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 — 5 4 3 2 1 6 7

3.7.3 beeku in 'appositive' constructions. The modal *beeku* (see 3.6.1) may also appear in dative-stative constructions with a noun and without a main verb. This construction is sometimes called "appositive", and the "subject" is marked for dative case.

ad nange beeku 'I want that (that is-wanted to me)'
1 2/3 4 — 1 4 3 2

avrig haNa beeku 'He wants/needs money (to him money is-wanted/needed)'
1/2 3 4 — 2 1 3 4

beeku may also appear with the verb *aagu* 'become', and in these constructions it contrasts with simple *beeku*: *beeku* alone implies that the speaker feels an "internal" need or desire to do something, whereas *beek-aagu* implies that the requirement is imposed from the outside, by external circumstances. When *aagu* is present, tense markings are also added.

beek-aagatte '(it) will become necessary'
beek-aagittu '(it) was necessary, (one) had to'

3.7.4 *iru* indicating possession. *iru* 'be' may be used in constructions to indicate possession (the equivalent of English 'have'). In these constructions, the "subject" occurs in the dative case, the "object" in the nominative, and PNG markers agree with the "object".

nange haNa ide 'I have money (to me money is)'
nimge heNti-makL iddaaraa? 'Do you have a family (wife-children)?'

3.7.5 *baa* indicating 'knowing'. The verb *baa* 'come' may also be used in dative-stative constructions to give the meaning 'know (how to do something)'.

ninge kannaDa barattaa? 'Do you know (how to speak) Kannada?'
nang ella-tarad aDgegaLuu baratte 'I know all kinds of cooking'

3.7.6 *aagu* in construction with nouns. *aagu* 'become' serves as an aspect marker indicating 'finality' (see 3.8.11), and in this use it occurs only in the past form *aaytu*. However, when *aagu* appears with nouns in compounds, it takes a nominative "object" and a dative "subject", and may be marked with other tense or aspect.

uuTa maaDi aada meele tirugook hoogooNa	'After finishing the meal, let's go for a walk'
muur dina naDde uur seeri aaytu	'After walking for three days (we) (finally) reached town'
aDge maaDi aaytu	'The cooking is (all) finished'

3.7.7 *hoogu* with transitive verbs. The aspect marker *hoogu* 'completive' (see 3.8.3) may occur with a transitive verb, in which case it takes a dative-stative construction, and implies an accidental happening.

nange kate mart-hooytu 'I forgot the story (accidentally, not my fault)'

3.8 Verbal aspect markers. In Kannada a set of suffixes may be added to verbs to give certain semantic nuances to the meaning of the sentence. These notions have to do, not with the time ("tense") of the proposition, but with:

a. The relative time of two or more actions.
b. The completeness or definiteness of an action.
c. The duration of the action (whether it continues for some time or happens quickly).
d. Certain other notions that express the speaker's attitude or emotional evaluation of some action or person.

Some of these notions have previously been called "aspectual" or "attitudinal", but others defy classification, and are only included here under the category "aspect" because they behave syntactically like the more clearly aspectual markers.

Aspect markers are very similar to main verbs in their morphology and syntax; in fact, they are historically quite probably derived from certain main verbs that they still closely resemble. But semantically they do not express the "lexical" meaning that those other main verbs express; for instance, the aspectual *biDu* 'completive' does not mean the same as the main verb *biDu* 'leave, release', although it resembles it in all apparent phonological detail.

In other language families, aspect is a more or less fully developed grammatical category. For example, in English there is a 'durative' or 'progressive' aspect (usually called a "tense") formed by adding 'be + -ing' to the verb stem, giving the notion of continuous activity (e.g. 'I am doing'). Also, Slavic languages have a well developed system of 'perfective' ('completive') and 'imperfective' verbs. Kannada has ways of expressing these and other notions.

In Kannada, the verbal aspect marker is usually added to the past verbal participle (see 3.5.2); then tense markers, modals, etc., are added to the aspect marker, followed by PNG markers if the verb phrase final component requires them.

3.8.1 Inventory of aspect markers. Since aspect is not a universal linguistic category, and is found in different degrees of development in different languages, it is understandable that even among or within dialects of a given language there will be some differences in the aspectual system. For this reason, the discussion here will be concentrated on the "standard" SK dialect, with only minor discussion of some verbs that may be used aspectually in other dialects.

What follows is based to some extent on D.N.S. Bhat's (1977) analysis of those "vectors" he considers to be aspectual, with other sources as noted.[9] In each of the examples below, with the absence of the aspect marker (underlined), the additional English meaning (also underlined) would be lacking.

marker	meaning/function	example
biDu	completion ('perfective', definiteness)	*avan bid-biTTa* 'he fell down'
hoogu	completion (sometimes involuntary or accidental), change of state	*anna bend-hoogide* 'the rice has gotten over-cooked'
aaDu	continuity/duration (with some verbs 'reciprocal' or 'competitive')	*avar ooD-aaDidru* 'they ran around' *avar kaad-aaDidru* 'they fought with each other'
koDu	'benefactive'	*avan kate bard-koTTa* 'he wrote the story for someone's benefit'
nooDu	'attemptive, experimentive'	*avan kaafi kuDid-nooDda* 'he tried drinking/tasted the coffee'
haaku	'exhaustive, malefactive'	*avan doose-yella tind-haakda* 'he ate up all the doses (against our wishes)'

In addition to these six aspect markers analyzed by Bhat, there are some other verbs that impart aspectual meaning to the sentence, and these are given below. (Other dialects may use some other verbs in an aspectual manner; see 3.8.12.)

marker	meaning/function	example
koLLu	'reflexive, self-benefactive'	*avan kate bard-koNDa* 'he wrote a story for himself'
iru	'perfective'	*band-iddiini* 'I have come'
	'stative'	*hoog-idde* 'I had gone/been'
-ttaa iru	'durative, progressive'	*bartaa iddiini* 'I am coming'
aagu	finality	*avan band-aaytu* 'he finally came'

Bhat points out in his discussion of aspectual "vectors" that there are some differences in meaning of these forms depending on whether the main verb is transitive or intransitive ("agentive" or "non-agentive"). Three of the aspect markers listed by Bhat have differences in meaning when the main verbs to which they are attached so differ. Below, each aspect marker is examined, along with any of the peculiarities that it possesses when occurring under special conditions.

3.8.2 The aspect marker *biDu* 'completive'. *biDu* 'completive' is attached to the past verbal participle. It is homophonous with the lexical verb *biDu* 'leave', and has tense formation like that verb (see 3.4.5.6). However, aspectual *biDu* can also be attached to the lexical verb *biDu* (e.g. *biTT-biDu* 'let go (completely)!'

biDu as aspect often corresponds to the English meaning imparted by verb particles such as 'up, down, away', etc. (e.g. 'eat up (completely)', 'burn down (completely)', 'go away (and don't return)'). It may also correspond to expressions like 'for good' (e.g. 'he left for good'), and of course to adverbs such as 'completely, definitely, certainly, definitively, totally', etc.

Verbs with *biDu* attached are not usually negated, since the completion of a non-event does not make sense. Thus when a verb phrase with 'completive' *biDu* is negated, *biDu* is first deleted.

hoog-biTTa 'he went away' + *illa* 'negative → *hooglilla* 'he didn't go away' (rather than **hoog-biDlilla*) *biDu* also has some other special uses. When a transitive sentence with aspectual *biDu* has a human subject, use of *biDu* indicates that the action referred to is carried out "intentionally and with great effort" (Bhat, 1977:3), or with a certain amount of facility (Sridhar, personal communication). However, in an intransitive sentence with human subject, or in a transitive sentence in which the object (or sometimes the subject) is human, *biDu* imparts the meaning that things happened rather accidentally, and without intent.

In all of these uses, whether the action is deliberate or accidental, the meaning of "completion" of action is imparted by *biDu*.

human subject, transitive

raaju aa pustka oodda 'Raju read that book'

a raaju aa pustka oodi-biTTa 'Raju read that book (with great effort), Raju managed to read that book'

avan doose tind-biTTa 'he ate up the doses (accidentally/unintentionally)'

human subject, intransitive

raaju bidda 'Raju fell down'

raaju bid-biTTa 'Raju accidentally fell down'

human object, transitive

aa naayi huDgan kactu 'that dog bit the boy'

aa naayi huDgan kacc -biTtu 'that dog accidentally bit the boy'

3.8.3 The aspect marker *hoogu* 'completive'. *hoogu* 'completive' is homophonous with the lexical verb *hoogu* 'go', and forms tenses in the same way (see 3.4.5.9). Aspectual *hoogu* is added to the past participle of verbs to indicate completion of action, but usually with a pejorative nuance; that is, the action is undesirable, or at least out of the control of the subject.

Also, the main verb to which *hoogu* is attached is usually a "change of state" verb; thus the use of *hoogu* indicates that something has changed from one state to another. In addition, when *hoogu* follows an intransitive verb, the meaning is 'completive'; but in the rare cases when it follows a transitive verb, the sense is that things happened accidentally or uncontrollably. (In this latter case, the "subject" is in the dative, so the transitivity of the verb, and therefore the control of the action by the "subject", is lessened.)

raaju kateen marta 'Raju forgot the story (his fault)'

raajug kate mart-hooytu 'Raju forgot the story (not his fault)'

With intransitive verbs, *hoogu* is usually marked for 3rd person neuter, but subjects other than neuter can also occur.

avar satt-hoodru 'he died'

Examples of verbs with *hoogu*:

bend-hoogu	'become overcooked'
mugd-hoogu	'get completely finished'
batt-hoogu	'get dried up, dessicated'
keTT-hoogu	'get spoiled'
mart-hoogu	'become forgotten'
oNag-hoogu	'become completely dry'
tagg-hoogu	'get lowered down'
hedar-hoogu	'become afraid (involuntarily)'

3.8.4 The aspect marker *aaDu* 'durative, competitive'. *aaDu* 'durative, competitive' is homophonous with *aaDu* 'play', and has the same tense formations (see 3.4.5.1). It imparts the notion of "continuity" after intransitive verbs, whereas with transitive verbs it indicates that the action is reciprocal but 'competitive' (or 'antagonistic').

avr ooDidru 'they ran'

avr ooD-aaDidru 'they ran around'

avar kaccidru 'they bit (something)'

avar kacc-aaDidru 'they bit each other'

3.8.5 The aspect marker *koDu* 'benefactive'. The use of the aspect marker *koDu*, which is homophonous with the lexical verb *koDu* 'give' and is conjugated in the same way (see 3.4.5.6), imparts a 'benefactive' notion to the sentence; that is, it gives the idea that one does something for the benefit of someone else. This contrasts with the 'self-benefactive' or 'reflexive' aspect marker *koLLu* (see 3.8.8), the use of which indicates that one does something for one's own benefit. *koDu* is usually used only with transitive verbs.

raaju ond kate barda 'Raju wrote a story'

raaju ond kate bard-koTTa 'Raju wrote a story for someone'

Some examples of verbs with *koDu*:

hiDid-koDu	'catch for someone else'
biT-koDu	'leave for someone'
toors-koDu	'show on someone's behalf'
kaT-koDu	'tie up (something) for someone'

3.8.6 The aspect marker *nooDu* 'experimentive'. The aspect marker *nooDu*, which is homophonous with the lexical verb *nooDu* 'see' and is conjugated like it (see 3.4.5.1), adds a notion of doing something as a test, or to see what the outcome of some action might be. It is usually used only with transitive verbs, but also sometimes with (intransitive) verbs of motion.

raaju solpa kaafi kuDda	'Raju drank some coffee'
raaju solpa kaafi kuDid-nooDda	'Raju tried drinking/tasted some coffee'
avn all hooda	'he went there'
avn all hoog-nooDda	'he tried going there'

Other examples of verbs with *nooDu*:

muT-nooDu	'examine by touching'
tind-nooDu	'examine by eating, taste'
nint-nooDu	'try (something) by standing (on something)'

3.8.7 The aspect marker *haaku* 'exhaustive, malefactive'. The aspect marker *haaku* is homophonous with the main verb *haaku* 'put, place', and takes regular ("weak") tense formations (see 3.4.5.1). It is used mainly with transitive verbs, and in some instances that the action was carried out in a complete and all-encompassing manner.

avar baTTeen vagidru	'they washed the clothes'
avar baTTeen vagd-haakidru	'they washed all the clothes', 'they washed the clothes very thoroughly'
raaju aa anna tinda	'Raju ate that food'
raaju aa anna tind-haakda	'Raju finished off that food'

The use of *haaku* also indicates in some cases that the action was performed in an objectionable or malicious manner, against the speaker's wishes.

avan maDkeen oDda	'he broke the pot'
avan maDkeen oDd-haakda	'he purposefully (and maliciously) broke the pot'

As D.N.S. Bhat points out, this aspect marker is used mainly with verbs whose "physical action...has some noticeable effect on the object involved" (Bhat, 1977:5). Thus it tends more often to be used with verbs like *kollu* 'kill', *bari* 'write', *kiiLu* 'pluck', *cellu* 'spill', *oDi* 'break', etc. *haaku* may also indicate direct malice, and thus contrasts with *hoogu* (see 3.8.3) which, when it follows a transitive verb, indicates that while the action is undesirable, it is involuntary.

3.8.8 The aspect marker *koLLu* 'reflexive, self-benefactive'. This aspect marker indicates that an action is carried out for the benefit of the agent of the action, rather than for someone else as is the case with *koDu* (see 3.8.5). *koLLu* no longer has an analogous main verb in most dialects of SK, although there is a verb *koLLu* in LK (and in some spoken dialects) meaning 'buy, take, acquire'. *koLLu* is conjugated like an *o*-stem verb (see 3.4.5.8).

The aspect marker *koLLu* probably corresponds less to any one English expression than other aspect markers. Where English uses possessive pronouns (e.g. 'wash your face'), Kannada will often use *koLLu*. Also, Kannada often uses *koLLu* where English does not specify who is affected by an action, although the affected person is "understood" (e.g. 'have (yourself) a look').

avn ond kate barda 'he wrote a story'

avn ond kate bard-koNDa 'he wrote himself a story'

ad maaD-kootiini 'I'll do that for myself'

kuut-koLLi 'Sit down (seat yourself/selves)!'

kay-kaal toL-koLLi 'Wash your hands and feet!'
1 2 3 4 3 4 1 2

snaana maaD-koLLi 'Take a bath (make a bath for yourself/selves)!'
1 2 3 2 1 3

baTTe haak-koLLi 'Get dressed (put clothes on yourself/selves)!'
1 2 3 2 1 3

pariikSeg nooTs bard-ko beeku '(One) must prepare (write for oneself) notes for the examination'
1 2 3 4 5 6 6 4 5 3 2 1

koLLu, in its past verbal participial form *koNDu* (see 3.5.2), is used to indicate that two actions are simultaneous. It is attached to the past verbal participle of the first verb in a sequence of two verbal actions, and can often be translated into English as 'while (doing something)'. At times, however, the past participle *koNDu* attached to a verb simply means 'having done for oneself'.

jooD haak-koNDu, guDiyoLag hoog beeDa 'Don't go into a temple while
1 2 3 4/5 6 7 7 6 5 4 3
wearing shoes!'
2 1

ill uuTa maaD-koNDu, hoogi 'Having eaten (made) your meal here, then go'
1 2 3 4 5 4 3 4 2 1 5

A useful list of verbs taking the aspect marker *koLLu* can be found in Ramanujan (1963:235-6.)

Many Kannada verbs have become so closely linked with *koLLu* that they rarely occur without it in SK. All SK verbs that end in *o* are of this sort.

LK *tegedu + koLLu* → SK *togo* ∿ *takko* 'take (for oneself)'
LK *vagi + koLLu* → SK *okko* ∿ *vakko* 'wash (one's clothes)'
LK *malagi + koLLu* → SK *malko* ∿ *makko* 'lie down'

3.8.9 The aspect marker *iru* 'perfective'. The aspect marker *iru*, homophonous with the "copula" *iru* 'be', and using the same tense markers (see 3.4.5.5), may be affixed to the past participle of a main verb (see 3.5.2) to indicate that the result of an action continues after the main action has finished. This construction is also used to indicate that the speaker has completed a particular action before the time of occurrence of the main verb, which is similar in meaning to the 'perfect' "tenses" of other languages. Since *iru* may have tense markers attached, it is possible to get the equivalents of past perfect, present perfect, and habitual/future perfect "tenses" with this construction.

With verbs of motion, the affixation of *iru* indicates that the motion is completed, but that the result lasted for some time and may still be relevant.

naan all hoog-idde 'I went there (and stayed), I had been there'
naan band-iddiini 'I came (and am still here), I have come'
naan band-idde 'I came (and was still here when...), I had come'
naan band-irtiini 'I will come (and be here when...), I will have come'

3.8.10 The aspect marker *-ttaa iru* 'durative'. When *iru* 'be' follows the present verbal participial marker *-ttaa* of a main verb (see 3.5.1), the notion given is one of "duration" or continuous action.[10] This is similar to the English 'progressive' "tenses", as in 'I am/was/will be going'. Although the present verbal participle is formed by adding *-aa* to the verb stem + *-tt-* 'present', in both LK and SK the *-aa* is generally deleted unless emphasis is desired on immediacy or durative aspects.

bart-iddiini 'I am coming'
bartaa iddiini 'I am coming (right now)'
maaDt(aa) idde 'I was doing (something)'
kuut-koot(aa) idde 'I was sitting'
nooDt(aa) ir beeku '(One) must be/is probably seeing (something)'
haakt(aa) ir beeDa '(One) shouldn't/must not be putting (something)'

When the future/habitual of *iru* is added to a main verb, the meaning is that of future or habitual continuous action.

hoogt(aa) irtiini 'I will be going, I usually am going'

In LK, and some other dialects, the verb *baa* 'come' may sometimes be substituted for *iru* following the present participle to express a 'repetitive' notion.

LK *avaru maaDuttaa baruttaare* 'he keeps on doing (something)'

3.8.11 The aspect marker *aagu* 'finality'. The aspect marker *aagu*, homophonous with the main verb *aagu* 'become', may be used to indicate that some long-awaited result has finally taken place. It always occurs in the past neuter singular form *aaytu*, which seems to indicate that in underlying form a whole sentence or proposition is the subject of *aagu*. That is, in the example below, the first sentence probably comes from an underlying sentence like the second.

avar band-aaytu 'he finally came'
avaru bandadadu aaytu 'his coming finally occurred'

3.8.12 Other aspect markers in LK and other dialects of SK. In LK, some other verbs may be used as aspect markers; for example, aspectual *iDu*, homophonous with the main verb *iDu* 'put, place', is used to give the notion of 'completive'.

In other dialects of SK, some other verbs may also be found with aspectual uses. For example, in the dialect of A.K. Ramanujan (also a speaker of "standard" SK) there are a number of what he calls "post verbs" that occur with aspectual meaning (Ramanujan, 1963:218-32). For him, *aaDu* (see 3.8.4) is not widely used, occurring only after a limited number of verbs. However, *baa* (see 3.8.10) has in addition to it's 'repetitive' sense also a 'completive' meaning with certain verbs.

ad tiLid-bantu 'it came to be known'
ad kaND-bantu 'it came to be seen, it was recognized'

The verb *biiLu* 'fall' can be used in Ramanujan's dialect either aspectually or idiomatically with a 'completive' sense.

avan sat-bidda 'he died, he fell dead'
saavar kaagad band-bidd-ide 'a thousand letters have piled up'
avan nenne negid-bidda 'he jumped and fell (idiom. "died") yesterday'

biiLu also occurs as a verbalizer (see 3.11).

In addition to *haaku* 'finish' (see 3.8.7), the verb *esi* 'throw' can also be used aspectually to emphasize "the ease with which something is done" (Ramanujan, 1963:231).

```
hat dinad kelsaana ond  gaNTeel maaD-esda  'He finished-off ten day's
 1    2      3      4    5 6      7               7          1    2

                                              work in one hour'
                                               3    6   4    5
```

3.8.13 Negatives of aspect markers. As mentioned above (see 3.8.2), some aspect markers do not regularly take negatives, since 'negation' and 'completion' are often contradictory notions. Other aspect markers may or may not take negation. Negation of those that have negative forms, and of *iru* and all the constructions in which it appears, are dealt with under syntax (see section 4).

3.9 The 'causative' suffix *-isu*. In Kannada there is a 'causative' suffix *-isu* (derived from the LK irregular verb *-iiyu* (Spencer, 1950:312)) that can be added to verb stems (see 3.1) to make causative verbs out of non-causative ones.[11] Usually the verb being made causative is intransitive, and the result is then transitive; but many transitive verbs can be causativized, and even causative verbs can be made "double causative".

intransitive	causative
kali 'learn' + *-isu* →	*kalisu* 'teach'

transitive		causative		double causative
maaDu 'do'	+ *-isu* →	*maaDsu* 'make (someone) do'	+ *-isu* →	*maaDsisu* 'make (someone) make (someone) do'

In LK, a causative verb with the aspect marker *koLLu* (see 3.8.8) attached has a kind of 'passive' meaning (Spencer, 1950:138, 281).

huDugaru upaadhyaayaninda koDeyisi-koNDaru 'The boys were beaten by the teacher'

3.10 The 'conditional' suffix *-are*. The conditional in Kannada is formed by adding a suffix *-are* to the past stem of a main verb (see 3.1.1). This form is used to express 'if (something happens)'. The form used is the same with all persons, and is always followed by a "result" clause expressing the consequences of the "condition" identified in the conditional clause (see 4.8). Tense or aspect distinctions can be made in these constructions by affixing *-are* to *iru* 'be', which is then attached to the present or past participles of main verbs (see 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 respectively). Usually the *a* of *-are* is deleted by the rule of short vowel deletion.

maaDid-re 'if (someone) does (something), (then...)'
hood-re 'if (someone) goes , (then...)'
heeL-koTT-re 'if (someone) teaches, (then...)'
bart(aa) id-re 'if (someone) is coming, (then...)'
band-id-re 'if (someone) has come, (then...)'

nange ninneenee gott-aag-id-re, heeLt-idde 'If I had known (about it)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 6 1 4/5 3
yesterday, I would-have said (something)'
2 8 7

3.11 Verbalizers. There are a number of lexical verbs in Kannada that can be added to other constituents (mainly nouns) to make verbs out of them. The most common and general of these is *maaDu* 'make, do'; but the causative *maaDisu* 'cause (someone) to do', *aagu* 'become', *paDu* 'feel, experience', *biDu* 'leave', *biiLu* 'fall' and *aaDu* 'play' also occur.

3.11.1 The verbalizers *maaDu* and *maaDisu*. *maaDu* can be added to a noun to make it into a verb. It is also widely used to make "acceptable Kannada" verbs (i.e. forms that can take Kannada tense and PNG markers, etc.) out of borrowed English words, including verbs.

Draiv maaDu 'drive (a car)'
istri maaDu 'iron (clothing)'
prayatna maaDu 'try, work hard' (lit. 'make effort')
kelsa maaDu 'work'
uuTa maaDu 'eat (a meal)'

For a useful list of verbs formed with *maaDu*, see Ramanujan (1963:237ff.).

maaDisu, the causative of *maaDu* (see 3.9), is sometimes used instead of *maaDu* in these constructions

riharsal maaDsu 'get (someone) to rehearse'
kelsa maaDsu 'get the work done'

3.11.2 The verbalizer *aagu*. *aagu* 'become' is often used to make a verb out of a noun when the verbal notion desired is stative rather than active (indicating a state or change of state, rather than an action performed on an object).

arth aagu 'understand'
paas aagu 'pass (e.g. an examination)'

3.11.3 The verbalizer *paDu*. *paDu* 'experience, feel' is used to make verbs out of (usually) Indo-Aryan noun loans.

kaSTa paDu 'be difficult'
santooSa paDu 'be happy'

paDu and *aagu* are also sometimes used to passivize verbs, by adding them to the infinitive.

nooDal paDu 'be seen'
maaDal aagu 'be/get done'

3.11.4 The verbalizers *biDu, biiLu* and *aaDu*. *biDu* 'leave', *biiLu* 'fall' and *aaDu* 'play' may also be used to make verbs from certain nouns.

saikal biDu 'ride a bicycle'
kaar biDu 'drive a car'
paTa biDu 'fly a kite'
jagL aaDu 'quarrel'
maat aaDu 'speak (play words)'
naaTak aaDu 'perform a play'

hindi biiLu 'fall behind'
munde biiLu 'come forward'
meele biiLu 'be forward'
k(h)aayle biiLu 'fall ill'
haLu biiLu 'fall into disuse'
sat biiLu 'die (fall dead)'

Footnotes to Chapter 3.

[1] *-okke* is derived from the dative of a verbal noun (see 3.5.8):

-uvud + *-akke* → *-ood-akke* → *-okke*

In northern dialects, another form which often replaces *-okke* is made by suffixing the dative *-ikke* to the infinitive with *-al*.

maaD- 'do' + *-al* + *-ikke* → *maaDlikke* ∿ *maaDLikke* 'to do'

[2] In the Dharwar dialect, the plural imperative is *-ri* for all verbs, including *bar-* and *tar-*.

barri	'(you-pl., polite) Come!'
tarri	'(you-pl., polite) Give!'
kuut-koLri	'(you-pl., polite) Sit!'
hoogri	'(you-pl., polite) Go!'

[3] Throughout the paradigms, a number of irregularities will be noted in the forms with *avu*. Because these forms are not regularly used in all SK dialects, these irregularities may be due to interference from LK (since many speakers who use *avu* also know LK) or to other reasons.

[4] For more discussion of past tense formation, see Biligiri (1959), Bright (1958:21-3), and Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy (1972:118-21).

[5] All of these archaic modals were marked for PNG, but the negatives were not marked for tense. Older forms of Kannada had a regular negative formation relying on the absence of tense marking.

[6] This form with *beeku* attached to *aagittu* is called 'subjunctive' by Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy (1972:159).

[7] Since *-du* is in fact the form used with the LK future (Spencer, 1950: 47), and since other past PNG markers are very similar to those found in the LK future, this is evidence to suggest that the negative contingent is historically a negative future form.

[8] Historically *-ooNa* is derived from the present adjectival participial

form (*-uva*) + *-na*. This *-uvana* form went through several morphophonemic changes before its final outcome as *-ooNa* (Kittel, 1903:151).

[9] The subject of "aspect" has not been dealt with very thoroughly in the literature on SK, other than in passing in a number of doctoral studies, except in D.N.S. Bhat (1977). This latter study, while quite insightful, does not discuss the aspectual uses of several forms, including *iru* and *-ttaa iru*.

[10] In northern dialects, this 'durative' aspect is formed by a very different construction, using the dative of an (infinitival) verbal noun (see fn.1) + *hatt-* (possibly the stem of *hari* 'run' + *-tt-* 'present') + present PNG (McCormack, 1966:106).

maaDlik-hattiini 'I am doing (something)'

[11] The widespread use of *-isu* as a causative/transitive suffix, instead of the morphological *d/t* (or voiced/voiceless stop contrast) alternation used in other South Dravidian languages, is a feature that sharply differentiates Kannada from these other languages (Emeneau, 1967).

4.0 Syntax: Introduction. The basic word order in a Kannada sentence is subject-object-verb. Other orders can be found in the language, due to stylistic variation. Generally, however, the verb occurs as the last constituent of the sentence. However, sometimes in colloquial speech, the verb may be followed either by the subject or the object; this may be called 'after-thought' word order, since the speaker may have not thought out the sentence well and wants to add something afterwards. Traditionally, a simple sentence is described as consisting of a subject and a predicate as shown below:

subject	predicate	
	object	verb
avanu	*paaT(h)a*	*oodda*
he	lesson	studied

'He studied the lesson'

4.0.1 Subject. The subject of a sentence is usually a noun or noun phrase. It usually occurs in the nominative case (2.1), except in certain instances where the sentence has either a psychological verb or a stative/defective verb (3.7) or where the sentence has the copula *iru* in the sense of 'have' (3.7.4). In these cases, the subject occurs with the dative case as shown below:

(a) *nange tale noovatte* 'I have a headache'
to-me head aches

(b) *ninge kannaDa gottaa?* 'Do you know Kannada?'
to-you Kannada known-Q

(c) *avrig erD makL iddaare* 'He has two children'
to-him two children exist

(d) *arsarig doD armane ide* 'The king has a big palace'
to-the-king big palace exists

The subject of a sentence is an important structural element and plays a crucial role in many grammatical processes in the language. As already noted, the subject occurs normally in the initial portion of a sentence. It is always in agreement with the verb with respect to person, number, and gender (3.4.1) (hereafter PNG), except in the case of those dative subjects discussed earlier.

(e)	*naanu* I	*pustaka* book	*oodtiini* read	'I read the book'
(f)	*naavu* we		*oodtiivi* read	'We read the book'
(g)	*niinu* you-sg.		*oodtii(ya)* read	'You read the book'
(h)	*niivu* you-pl.		*oodtiiri* read	'You read the book'
(i)	*avanu* he		*oodtaane* reads	'He reads the book'
(j)	*avaLu* she		*oodtaaLe* reads	'She reads the book'
(k)	*avaru* they he she		*oodtaare* read(s)	'They/he/she read(s) the book'

When a sentence is passivized, it is the subject that is optionally moved to the object position along with the instrumental case marker in the passivized sentence (see 3.11.3).

(l) *naan pustka oodde* 'I read (past) a book'

(m) *pustka nanninda oodalpaTtu* 'The book was read by me'
book by-me read-was

Further, when a sentence contains another noun or pronoun (third person only) that is co-referential (refers to the same thing) as the subject, this noun or pronoun is replaced by the reflexive pronoun *taanu* (Sridhar, 1979:3). This is illustrated by the following examples:

(n) *avn tan maneeg hoogtaane* 'He goes to his (own) house'
he his-own house goes

(o) *avn nang tan mane toorsda* 'He showed me his (own) house'
he to-me his-own house showed

In sentence (o), *tan* 'one's own' can only refer to *avn*, the subject, and not to *nange*, the indirect object.

4.0.2 Predicate. The predicate of a sentence (in addition to the structures seen above) may consist of a noun phrase only (with no obvious verb present on the surface level). In such cases, the sentence consists of two noun phrases, one as the subject and the other as the predicate; this is called an equational sentence.

(p) *avr meeStru* 'He is a teacher'
he teacher

(q) *naan huDga* 'I am a boy'
I boy

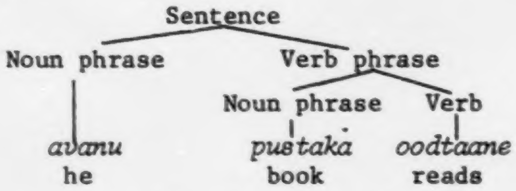
The predicate may also have a verb only:

(r) *avn hoogtaane* 'He goes (somewhere)'
he goes

(s) *naan bande* 'I came'
I came

The predicate may also have a noun (phrase) and a verb as well. The two together make up the verb phrase. The object of a sentence is the noun phrase "dominated" by (affected by) the verb phrase. This can be illustrated by the following tree diagram:

(t)



'He reads a book'

In this sentence there are two noun phrases, one as the subject, *avanu*, "dominated" directly by the sentence node, and one in the predicate, *pustaka*, "dominated" by the verb phrase, i.e. the object of the verb. The object of a verb generally occurs with the accusative (objective) case marker *-anna* (see 2.3.3), which is obligatorily present with rational (2.1) nouns and only optional with non-rational (neuter) nouns (or noun phrases). When the neuter noun is marked with the accusative case marker, it has a redundant semantic nuance, namely, that it is a particular thing.

(u) *avn meeSTran nooDda* 'He saw the teacher
he teacher-acc. saw

(v) **avn meeSTru nooDda*

(w) *avn sinma nooDda* 'He saw a movie'
he movie saw

(x) *avn sinmaan nooDda* 'He saw the movie'
he movie-acc. saw

The structure of a noun phrase is the same whether it be the subject or the object (or whatever) of the sentence, though they behave syntactically differently in the sentence (e.g. are marked with different case markers to indicate different functions in the sentence, etc.).

4.0.3 The noun phrase. A noun phrase is a phrase consisting mainly of a noun or pronoun, but also optionally other constituents (see 2.0). For example, it may consist of the following:

(a)	a proper noun	*raama (banda)* Rama came
(b)	a pronoun (2.4)	*avn (banda)* he came
(c)	a common noun	*huDga (banda)* a boy came
(d)	a numeral + a common noun	*muur huDugru (bandru)* three boys came
(e)	demonstrative particle + numeral + common noun	*ii muur huDugru (bandru)* these three boys came
(f)	demonstrative particle + numeral + adjective + common noun	*aa naak cik maneglu (nooDde)* those four small houses I saw

Sometimes a whole sentence can also occur as a relative clause before a noun, thus complicating the structure of the noun phrase even further. Quantifiers such as *ella* 'all', *solpa* 'some', (etc., see 2.6.9) can also occur after the noun, e.g. *haal-ella* 'all the milk'. In the case of plural rational nouns the quantifying adjectives also optionally take the plural suffix *-ru*.

(g) *ii huDugr elru bandru* 'All these boys came'
these boys all came

(h) *bisi anna solpa koDi* 'Give (me) a little (hot) rice!'
hot rice little give

Further the noun can be followed by case markers (2.3), emphatic particles (4.11.1), emphatic markers such as *kuuDa* 'also' and *maatra* 'only', and also by the yes-no question marker *-aa* (4.3). The nominative case marker is zero, but the presence of the accusative case marker together with various noun-phrase constituents that follow the noun can be seen in the following:

(i) *ii huDugran nooDde* 'I saw these boys'
these boys-acc. saw-I

ii huDugr ellarn nooDde 'I saw all these boys'
these boys all-acc. saw-I

ii huDugr ellarn kuuDa nooDide 'I also saw all these boys'
these boys all-acc. also saw-I

4.0.4 The verb phrase. A verb phrase mainly consists of an optional noun phrase and a verb. As in other Dravidian languages, the verb in Kannada is much more complex than the noun. It occurs as the last constituent of the sentence or sentential clause. Verbs can conveniently be divided into finite and non-finite forms (3.0).

A finite verb form consists mainly of the following:

(a) a verb stem (3.1) + tense marker (3.4.1) + person-number-gender (3.4.1)
hoog- + tt + iini 'I go'

(b) a verb stem + (infinitive (3.2)) + modal (3.6)
hoog-a-beeku 'must go'

(c) a verb stem + (infinitive) + negative (4.4)
hoog-al-illa 'didn't go'

(d) a verb stem (past) + aspect (3.8) + tense + PNG
hoog(i) + biT-T-e 'definitely went'

When a modal or negative occurs, the infinitive must be attached to the the verb; when aspect is chosen, the verb stem must be in the past. Also with modal or negative, PNG is absent; it is also absent when non-finite forms of the verb (3.0) occur. Other combinations of the above may occur -- aspect may be followed by (infinitive and) modals, or another aspect marker, or occasionally negative; the verb stem may be followed by various kinds of participles (3.5), the causative (3.9), or verbs may be conjoined in various ways. Emphatic particles (clitics, see 4.11) can also occur in the verb phrase.

4.1 Adjectives. In this section we concentrate on the syntax of adjectives in the noun phrase. In section 2.6 we discuss the formation and structure of adjectives as well as the question of whether there are any 'true' adjectives in Kannada, or whether they must be derived from other constituents. Here are some examples of noun phrases containing adjectives.

(a) *aa pustka oLLe pustka* 'That book is a good book'
that book good book

(b) *aa pustka oLLeedu* 'That book is (a) good (one)'
that book good-one

(c) *ad oLLee pustka* 'That (one) is a good book'
that-one good book

(d) *ad oLLeedu* 'That (one) is (a) good (one)'
that-one good-one

As we note in 2.6, adjectives may be simple ('true') or derived (2.6.2-ff.) from nouns or verbs.

doD mane 'a big house'
big house

hos daara 'new thread'
new thread

cik pustka 'a small book'
small book

cikk-avnu 'a small male'

doDD-avLu 'a big (older) girl'

baD-avru 'poor persons'

hos-du 'a new one/thing'

ob-nu 'one male'

The genitive of nouns (2.3.2) and pronouns (2.5.3.1) may also be used adjectivally:

raaman mane 'Raman's house'

nan pustka 'my book'

nimm uuru 'your village'

4.1.1 Adjectival participles. Adjectives may be derived from verbs, in which case they are called adjectival participles (3.5.5-6). They consist of verb stem plus tense (present or past) plus either *-oo* or *-a*.

4.1.2 Present adjectival participle. The present adjectival participle is formed by adding *-oo* (from *uva*) (1.3.5.1) to the present stem of the verb (3.1).

bar-oo vaara 'next week (the coming week)'
come week

nooD-oo jaaga 'the place (one is) seeing'
see place

bar-yoo kate 'the story (one is) writing'
write story

hoog-oo mane 'the house (to which one is) going'
go house

It may be noted that since English cannot freely derive adjectives from verbs, many of these adjectival participles are not equivalent to adjectives in English, but rather to phrases or clauses. There may also be some ambiguity as to whether the modified noun is the subject of the adjectival verb (*baroo vaara* 'the week that is coming') or the object (*nooD-oo jaaga* 'the place one is seeing' rather than 'the place that does the seeing'); this must be determined by the context.

4.1.3 Past adjectival participle. The past adjectival participle is formed by adding *-a* to the past stem of the verb (2.3.2.2).

band-a huDga	'the boy who came'
hood-a mane	'the house (to which one) went'
hood-a vaara	'the week that went, last week'
koTT-a pustka	'the book that one gave, the given book'

4.1.4 Perfect adjectival participles. Perfect (or perfective) adjectival participles can be formed by adding adjectival endings *-oo* or *-a* to a verb aspectually marked with *-iru*, the perfective aspect marker (3.8.9). Since *-iru* can be marked for either present or past tense, we can get forms like the following:

(a)	*band-ir-oo huDga*	'the boy who has come'
	koTT-ir-oo pustka	'the book that has been given'
	bard-ir-oo kate	'the story that has been written'
(b)	*band-idd-a huDga*	'the boy who had come (and stayed)'
	koTT-idd-a pustka	'the book that had been given (and kept)'
	bard-idd-a kate	'the story that had been written'

4.1.5 Denominal adjectival participles. Adjectives can also be derived from nouns by the addition of the past adjectival participle of *aagu* 'become', i.e. *aada*, plus optionally the present adjectival participle of *iru*, i.e. *iroo*. When *iroo* is used, it must be attached to the past participle of *aagu*, i.e. *aag(i)*. The difference in meaning is not so much one of tense, but of alienable versus inherent qualities.

(a) _kemp-aad baTTe_ 'red cloth'
ettarvaad huDga 'tall boy'
(b) _kemp-aag-iroo baTTe_ 'red cloth'
*_ettarvaag-iroo huDga_ (does not occur)

kemp-aada is an inherent or inalienable red, whereas _kemp-aag-iroo_ is a red that has been added, e.g. to cloth, and can be removed, e.g. as a red spot. _ettaravaada_ 'tall' is an inalienable quality of the boy, i.e. he cannot be made more or less tall.

The relation of the adjective to the noun it qualifies seems to be closer than that of the adverb to the verb. Particles such as emphatic markers, yes-no question markers, etc. cannot occur between the adjective and the noun (d), whereas they can occur between the adverb and the verb (f).

(c) _aa oLLe huDugn-aa bandiddu?_ 'Is it that good boy who came?
that good boy Q coming

(d) *_aa oLLeeyaa huDga banda?_
that good Q boy came

(e) _aa oLLe huDga ninne banda_ 'That good boy came yesterday'
yesterday

(f) _aa oLLe huDga ninnenaa bandiddu?_ 'Was it yesterday that that good boy came?'

(g) _aa oLLe huDga maatra banda_ 'That good boy alone came'
only

(h) *_aa oLLe maatra huDga banda_

(i) _aa oLLe huDga ninne maatra banda_ 'That good boy came yesterday only'

In sentences (c) and (f), when constituents other that the verb are questioned, 'clefting', i.e. converting the verb to a verbal noun, is obligatory; and extraposing the questioned item is optional (see 4.10, 3.5.8).

4.2 Adverbs. Generally, the adverb immediately precedes the verb in Kannada. Adverbs may be either simple or derived from nouns, verbs and adjectives. Examples of simple adverbs are:

tumba	'very'
beega	'quickly'
punaa	'again'

Adverbs can be classified according to their meaning as adverbs of place, of time, and of manner (Andronov, 1969:66).

Adverbs of place

munde	'in front (of)'
duura	'away, far'
naDuve	'in the middle'
madye	'in the middle'

Time expressions

iiga	'now'
naaLe	'tomorrow'
saayankaala	'evening'

Adverbs of manner

beega	'quickly'
spaSTa	'clearly'
innuu	'more'
bahaLa	'very, much'

Adverbs can also be formed from demonstrative roots (2.6.6). Adverbs of quantity are formed by prefixing demonstrative prefixes *i*, *a*, and *e* to *-STu*: *iSTu* 'this much', *aSTu* 'that much', *eSTu?* 'how much?'. Manner adverbs are formed by prefixing demonstrative prefixes (2.6.6) to *-ge*: *hiige* 'this way', *haage* 'that way', *heege?* (or *hæge?*) 'how?'. Adverbs of place are formed by prefixing demonstrative prefixes to *-lli*: *illi* 'here', *alli* 'there', *elli?* 'where?'.

4.2.1 Derived adverbs. Nouns can be made into adverbs by the addition of the suffix *-aagi*:

vipriita 'excess' + *aagi* → *vipriitvaagi* 'excessively'
curuku 'sharpness' + *aagi* → *curkaagi* 'sharply'
doDDadu 'big thing' + *aagi* → *doDdaagi* 'largely'

Some of these nouns can be nominalized adjectives (2.6.5) such as the last example. Some other adverbs end in *e* or *-ge*; many of them are also postpositions (2.3.9).

mettage	'softly'
taNNage	'coolly'

The adverbial marker *-ce* is added to the demonstrative adjectives (2.6.6) *ii* and *aa* to get *iice* 'this side', and *aace* 'that side'. It must be noted that the adverbial marker *-ge* can further be added to these adverbial forms to indicate specificity, i.e. *iicege* 'this very side, place', *aacege* 'that very side, place'.

The adverbial suffix *-aagi* is added to onomatopoeic words such as *joor-* to get *jooraagi* 'loudly'. Onomatopoeic expressions can also occur alone, or reduplicated:

gaDabaDa	'noisily, hastily'
bhag-bhaga	'of burning'

Single onomatopoeic forms can occur before the quotative marker *-anta* (4.5) to form adverbs (Ramanujan, 1963:147):

phakk-anta	'suddenly'
thaTT-anta	'all at once'
phaTT-anta	'quickly'
ghoLL-anta	'of laughter, guffaws'

-aagi added to reduplicated forms indicates intensity:

joor-jooraagi ' very loudly'

Sometimes *-aagi* is optional with simple adverbs:

beega 'quickly'

4.2.2 Sentential adverbs. Some adverbs in Kannada have to be distinguished as sentential, i.e. 'modifying' the whole sentence, rather than just the verb phrase.

(a) *nijvaaglu, avn illig banda* 'Truly, he came here'
truly he here came

(b) *avn nijvaag illig banda* 'He truly came here'
he truly here came

(c) *avn beega illig banda* 'He came here quickly'
he quickly here came

With sentential adverbs, it is possible to form a kind of sentence called 'cleft sentence', which is not possible with non-sentential adverbs. With cleft sentences, the sentential adverb is moved to the end of the sentence, after the verb; and the verb is nominalized.

(d) *avn illig bandad nija* 'That he came here is true' (It is true that he came here)

This is not possible with non-sentential adverbs:

(e) **avn illig bandad beega* *'That he came here is quick'

Although adverbs generally occur near the verb, they can be moved around in the sentence ('scrambled') for stylistic effect. Furthermore, emphatic particles and yes-no question markers can occur with adverbs.

(f) *avn maneeg nidhaanvaag banda*
(g) *avn nidhaanvaag maneeg banda* } 'He came home slowly'
(h) *nidhaanvaag avn maneeg banda*
(i) *avn nidhaanvaag-y-aa maneeg banda?* 'Did he come home slowly?'
(j) *avn maneeg nidhaanvaag-taane banda* 'He came home slowly indeed'

Adverbs formed from nominalized adjectives (2.6.5) contrast with identity statements in the following way:

(k) *ad hosdu* 'That is new (permanently)'
(l) *ad hosd-aag-ide* 'That one is (now) new'

In (l), the nominalized adjective + *aagi* must be followed by a form of the copula *iru*. This use indicates non-habitualness, a temporary state, whereas identity statements indicate an habitual or permanent state, unlimited by time.

4.3 Interrogatives. Questions or interrogative sentences are formed in Kannada in a number of ways. Any sentence can be made interrogative by adding the yes-no question marker *-aa* to almost any constituent, although the most general way is by adding it to the last constituent, usually the finite verb. When *-aa* is added to any other constituent, that particular item is focussed upon and questioned. In general, intonation rises on *-aa*.

(a) *avn naaLe uurg hoogtaane* 'Tomorrow he will go to town'
he tomorrow to-town goes
(b) *avnaa↑ naaLe uurg hoogoodu?* 'Is it he who is going to town tomorrow?'
(c) *avn naaLenaa↑ uurg hoogoodu?* 'Is he going to town tomorrow?'
(d) *avn naaLe uurgaa↑ hoogoodu?* 'Is he going to town tomorrow?'
(e) *avn naaLe uurg hoogtaanaa↑?* 'Is he going to town tomorrow?'

Note that whenever a constituent other than the verb is questioned, the verb must be clefted (see 4.10), i.e. converted into a verbal noun (see 3.5.8). It must be noted that the yes-no question marker cannot be added to any constituent of the noun phrase except the noun itself.

(f) *aa oLLe huDga uurg banda* 'That good boy came to town'
that good boy to-town came
(g) **aa oLLeyaa huDga uurg banda?*

(h) *avn kate barda* 'He wrote a story'
he story wrote

(i) *avnaa kate bardiddu?* 'Did he write a story?'

(j) *avn kateyaa bardiddu?* 'Did he write a story?'

(k) *naan kate(en) barda hudgan nooDde* 'I saw the boy who wrote the story'
I story wrote boy saw

(l) *nan kate(en) bard huDgannaa nooDiddu?* 'Did I see the boy who wrote the story?' (Is it the boy who wrote the story that I saw?)

(m) **naan kateenaa bard huDgan nooDde?*

4.3.1 WH-interrogatives. Kannada, like many other languages, has another kind of question, called in transformational grammar 'WH-questions' (because the English question words often begin with wh-, such as 'who, what, where', etc.). In Kannada these question words usually begin with *e-*, *ee-* or *yaa-*, e.g. *elli?* 'where?', *eenu?* 'what?', *yaaru?* 'who?', *eSTu?* 'how much?', *yaavdu?* 'which one?', etc. These words often form sets (2.5.2) with non-interrogative demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, e.g. *elli?* 'where?' is part of a set with *illi* 'here' and *alli* 'there'. These interrogative words then ask questions about the location, time, amount, manner, identity, substance, etc. of things, and the answer to such a question is the corresponding demonstrative pronoun/adverb in *-i* and *-a*. That is, every constituent in the sentence can be replaced by an *e*-word, in asking questions about those constituents.

avr he *yaaru?*	*ninne* yesterday *yaavaaga?*	*nange* to-me *yaarge?*	*erDu* two *eSTu?*	*pustka* books	*koTru* gave
			eenu?		
			een maaDidru?		

'Yesterday (when?) he (who?) gave (did what?) to me (to whom?) two (how many?) books (what?)'

In the above sentence, it is possible to replace *erDu* 'two' with *eSTu?* 'how many?', or to replace *erDu pustka* 'two books' with *eenu?* 'what?', or to replace *erDu pustka koTru* 'he gave two books' with *een maaDidru?* 'what did he do?'. Also, more than one interrogative pronoun/adverb can occur in a sentence, e.g.:

yaarn el nooDidri 'Whom did you see where?'
whom? where? you saw

In general, when *e*-words occur in a sentence, interrogative *-aa* cannot occur, unless it is a sort of secondary question in which one asks a question about another question, e.g.:

"een?" *ant* *heeLidnaa?* 'Did he say "What?"?'
"what?" quotative he said Q

Usually, in such 'double' interrogatives, intonation, which usually rises on *-aa*, will fall.

4.3.2 Reduplicated WH-interrogatives. When *e*-words are reduplicated (repeated twice in succession) the meaning is 'distributive'.

ell-elli? 'where all?'

een-eenu? 'what all?'

yaar-yaaru? 'who all?'

ell-el hoogidri? 'Where all did you go?' (To what different places did you go?)

If case markers are added, they are added to only the last of the doublet:

yaar-yaarg koTri? 'To what different persons did you give (it)?'

4.3.3 Tag questions. In tag questions speakers follow a declarative sentence with the equational negative particle *alla* (see 4.4.1) plus interrogative *-aa*: *allavaa*. This is used to verify all kinds of propositions, equational and others.

(a) *niiv bandidri, alvaa?* 'You came, didn't you?'

(b) *niiv shivrao, alvaa?* 'You are Shivarao, aren't you?'

Unlike English, where the verb or auxiliary verb must be repeated, with a pronoun, in Kannada *allavaa* is used with any utterance, even if the original utterance is negative.

(c) *avn uuTa maaDlilla, alvaa?* 'He didn't eat, did he?'

4.3.4 Adjectival use of WH-interrogatives. When *e*-words are used adjectivally, they impart an 'exclamatory' rather than interrogative meaning:

(a) *ad* *eST* *cennaag-ide!* 'How good (beautiful) that is!'
that how much good is

(b) *avL een kaSTa paTLu!* 'What trouble she had!'
she what trouble felt

In such exclamations, intonation usually falls and then rises slightly toward the end of the sentence. In some cases *gottaa?* 'do you know?' is added after the exclamatory sentence:

(c) *ad eST cennaag-ide, gottaa?* '(Do you know) how good (beautiful) that is!'

4.3.5 WH-interrogatives with clitics and concessive. When clitics and the concessive *aadaru* (4.8.8) are added to WH-interrogatives, the notion of interrogation is not present.

(a) *allig yaaroo bartaar-ante* 'I've heard/It seems someone's coming there'
there-to someone will come quote

(b) *allig yaarnaadru kaLsu* 'Send someone there'

4.3.5.1 WH-questions with *-oo*. When the clitic *-oo* is added to the interrogative pronouns/adverbs, the interrogative meaning is replaced by a meaning equivalent to 'some-wh...or other'.

yaar-oo	'someone or other'
ell-oo	'somewhere or other'
een-oo	'something or other
eST-oo	'some amount or other'

(a) *yaar bandru?* 'Who came?'

(b) *yaroo bandru* 'Someone or other came'

Both (a) and (b) sentences presuppose that someone came, but in (a) the speaker requests information about who it was, while in (b) a statement is made that some person, probably not known to the speaker, came. Further, the implication is not only that he does not know, but does not care to know -- the information is not important. Often *gottilla* '(I) don't know' occurs with such sentences:

(c) *yaaroo bandru, gottilla* 'Someone or other came, I don't know who'

(d) *avn elligoo hoog beeku, gottilla* 'He has to go somewhere or other, I don't know where'

(e) **avL elligoo hoog beeku, gottide* *'She had to go someplace or other, I know where'

(f) **naan elligoo hooglilla* *'I didn't go somewhere or other'

Note that WH-interrogatives with *-oo* cannot occur in negative sentences. In such cases, *-uu* would be used instead (cf. 4.3.5.4).

(g) *naan elliguu hooglilla* 'I didn't go anywhere'

4.3.5.2 WH-interrogatives + Verb$_1$ + *-oo*, *a*-word + Verb$_2$. When the particle *-oo* is added to a verb following a WH-interrogative, followed by the corresponding remote demonstrative pronoun/adverb and another verb, a kind of comparative construction is formed:

(a) *avn eST koTnoo, aST tinde* 'I ate as much as (whatever) he
he how much gave that much I ate gave (me)' (However much he gave, that much I ate)

(b) *avL el hoodloo, al naanuu hoode* 'I went wherever she went' (Wherever
she where went there I too went ever she went, I also went)

These sentences can also be translated 'no matter wh- X did, Y also did', in addition to 'wh-ever X did, Y did'.

4.3.5.3 WH-interrogatives with *aadaru*. The concessive (4.8.8) of the verb *aagu* 'become', *aadaru* (lit.: 'even if it becomes') may be added to *e*-words to mean 'some-wh' or 'some X'. Use of this form makes things more specific and less doubtful than use of *-oo* (cf. 4.3.5.1). It refers to some one or thing in a presupposed set, whereas with *-oo* nothing is presupposed or even known.

(a) *yaaroo bartaare* 'someone or other (not known) will come'

(b) *yaar-aadru bartaare* 'Someone (known/expected) will come'

(c) **nang gottiroo yaaroo bartaare*
to-me known someone-or-other will-come

(d) *nang gottiroo yaaraadru bartaare* 'Someone known to me will come'
to-me known someone will-come

Note that *aadaru* can not be used with interrogative pro-forms in negative or past tense marked sentences.

(e) **illig yaaraadru barolla* *'Someone will not come here'

(f) *illig yaaruu barolla* 'No one will come here'

(g) **ninne naan elgaadru hoode*

(h) *ninne naan elloo hoode* 'Yesterday I went somewhere'

With the negative, *-uu* is used, and with the past, *-oo* would be used. It may be used in the interrogative, however.

(i) *naaLe niiv elgaadru hoogtiiraa?* 'Are you going somewhere tomorrow?'
tomorrow you somewhere are-going?

4.3.5.4 WH-interrogatives with *-uu*. The clitic *-uu* (4.11.4) can be added to WH-interrogatives to indicate totality, i.e 'every-wh-': 'everyone, everywhere, everything, always', etc. Most of these, however, are used only with the negative, to mean 'no-wh-': 'nowhere, no one, never', etc. Only *yaavaagluu* 'always' may be used either positively or negatively in a declarative sentence.

yaaruu 'everyone' + *illa* → *yaaruu illa* 'nobody, no one'
elliguu 'everywhere' + *illa* → *elliguu illa* 'nowhere'
eenuu 'everything' + *illa* → *eenuu illa* 'nothing'

(a) *yaavaaglu bartaane* 'He always comes'
(b) *yaavaaglu barolla* 'He never comes'
(c) *elguu hoogolla* 'He doesn't go anywhere'
(d) **elguu hoogtaane* 'He goes everywhere'

Some dialects do permit the use of *yaavudu* as a positive quantifier in the sense of 'each, all, every' but not this one. The above negative sentences can also be interrogativized:

(e) *yaavaaglu barolvaa?* 'Doesn't he ever come?'
(f) *niiv elguu hooglilvaa?* 'Didn't you go anywhere?'
(g) *il yaaruu barlilvaa?* 'Didn't anyone come here?'

4.4 Negation. Negative forms in Kannada have been classified as synthetic and analytic (Andronov, 1959:60). The 'analytic' forms have been found to be more prevalent in colloquial speech while the 'synthetic' forms are more common in literary Kannada. In modern SK the synthetic forms do occur in limited cases, such as negative finite forms, negative participial nouns, etc. In these forms it is difficult to isolate a negative particle or morpheme; in many cases the absence of some other marker or morpheme signifies negative (cf. for example negative modals 3.6.1 ff). The analytic forms, by contrast, are more transparent and obvious, and there is usually a negative particle, often *(i)lla* present to mark negation. Sometimes the analytic and synthetic forms coexist, but with contrasting meaning. As noted earlier (3.6.7) negative and affirmative (or positive) forms do not match one-to-one in Kannada, so that it is not always possible to say that one form or sentence is the negative of some other form or sentence. Often it is necessary to determine the scope of the negative, i.e. what part of the sentence is being negated, before determining what the negative form is.

Negation in Spoken Kannada has not been thoroughly studied. Some sources (Biligiri, 1959) list only two negatives; others, such as Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy (1972) give three or four forms but do not contrast the semantics of them sufficiently to give an adequate idea of what is what. Sources disagree, for example, as to whether the present-future negative is with *-olla* (Bright, 1958; Biligiri, 1959) or *-alla* (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972), and they also disagree whether it is a present or future form. We give below all the forms we have been able to isolate, and try to destinguish semantically among them as sharply as possible, recognizing also that there is a great deal of variation in the system, so that not all speakers recognize all forms and distinctions possible in the sistem. This is clearly an area that needs more work before a definitive statement can be made.

4.4.1 Finite negative forms. A synthetic negative form is formed by adding PNG (3.4.1) directly to the verb stem (Spencer, 1950:67).

(a) *naanu maaD-enu* 'I do/will not do (it)'

(b) *avanu maaD-anu* 'He does/will not do (it)'

(c) *avaLu maaD-aLu* 'She does/will not do (it)'

Most of these forms occur only in LK, but sometimes the first person singular form will occur in SK, especially without the *-nu*.

(d) *naan maaDe* 'I will not do (it)'

More commonly, the 'analytic' negative is used; it is formed by adding the negative markers *illa/alla* to the verb. *illa* is the negative of the copula *iru* whereas *alla* is the negative of *aagu* 'become'. *illa* negates propositions, whereas *alla* negates identity statements (equational sentences) (Amritavalli, 1979). Analytic negative forms are the same for all persons, i.e. they do not agree with subjects in PNG.

(e) *avr meeSTr alla* 'He is not a teacher'

(f) *id hosd alla* 'This is not (a) new (one)'

(g) *naan iNDyaadal-illa* 'I am not in India'

(h) *avn uurg hoogl-illa* 'He didn't go to the town'

4.4.2 Past negative. When *illa* is added to the infinitive (in *-al*) (cf. 3.2) a past tense negative form is formed. I.e., these forms cannot occur with *naaLe* 'tomorrow' although they can occur with *ivattu* 'today' because there is usually some time that has elapsed between the beginning of the day and the speech event.

(a) *avn ninne/ivat nan maneeg barlilla* 'He didn't come to my house yesterday/today'

(b) **avn naaLe nan maneeg barlilla* *'He didn't come to my house tomorrow'

4.4.3 Present-future (habitual) negative. This non-past negative is formed in LK by adding *illa* to the verbal noun (3.5.8). In SK this form is shortened as follows:

LK *maaDu+vu+du + illa* → SK *maaDood illa* → *maaD-olla* 'doesn't/won't do'
LK *hoogu+vu+du + illa* → sk *hoogood illa* → *hoog-olla* 'doesn't/won't go'

By various phonological rules (1.4.5.1 ff) these sequences are reduced from *-uvudilla* to *-oodilla* to *-olla* (and for some speakers *-alla* (Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972)). For most speakers, forms in *-oodilla* are felt to be more formal (closer to LK) than in *-olla*, but with no difference in meaning (other than 'social' meaning). For some speakers, the more formal forms are felt to be more emphatic or more universal than more contracted forms in *-olla* (*-alla*).

(a) *naan uurg hoogoodilla/hoogolla* 'I don't usually go to town', 'I won't (be) go(ing) to town'

(b) *avn ii kelsa maaDoodilla/maaDolla* 'He doesn't usually do this work', He won't (be) do(ing) this work'

Habitual action can also be iterative, i.e. repeated, in the sense that a number of repeated actions (or instances of failure to repeat) can be construed as habitual, e.g. 'habitually not going' consists of repeated acts of not going, starting in the past and continuing through the present into the future. Such statements of habitual action often then refer to characteristic qualities of the subjects, or to universal truths regarding them.

(c) *hasu maamsa tinnoodilla/tinnola* 'Cows don't eat meat'

4.4.4 Perfective negative. When *-illa* is added to the past participle (past stem, in most cases, 3.5.2), a 'perfective' negative is formed. This is because *-illa* is the negative of *-iru*, which can be used as a 'perfective' aspect marker (3.8.9).

avn band-illa	'He hasn't come'
avL heeL-illa	'She hasn't said (something)'
avr koTT-illa	'They haven't given (something)'

Since the past participle is the past stem minus *-d-*, the short vowel *-i-* is also deleted (1.4.6); the resultant form may with some verbs be very close in form to the past negative, e.g.:

heeL-illa 'hasn't said'
heeL-lilla 'didn't say' (which becomes *heeLLilla*)

For verbs whose past participle is not the same as their past stem, e.g. *hoogu* 'go', the form is e.g. *hoogilla* 'hasn't gone'.

4.4.5 Durative negative. The durative negative is formed by negating *iru* following the durative aspect marker *-ttaa* (3.8.10) either in the present or perfective (4.4.4).

bartaa illa (bart-illa)	'isn't coming'
hoogtaa illa (hoogt-illa)	'isn't going'
bartaa-iddilla (bart-idd-illa)	'wasn't coming'
hoogt(aa) iddilla	'wasn't going'

4.4.6 Negative of *iru*. Since *iru* has some tense forms that other verbs do not have (3.4.1.2, 3.4.5.6), it also has some negative forms not shared by other verbs.

illa as a general negative has already been mentioned (4.4.1). In addition, there is a past tense formed by adding *illa* to *iru*: *iralilla* 'wasn't'. Future-habitual is formed by adding *-uvudilla*, which shortens to *-oodilla* and then *-olla* (*-alla*): *irolla* 'won't be' (4.4.3).

naan baroo varSa iNDyaadal-irolla 'I won't be in India next year'

Perfective negative is formed by adding *-illa* to the past of *iru*: *iddilla* 'hasn't been'.

naan nim maneel iddilla 'I haven't been in your house'

4.4.7 Negative participles. There are both adjectival and verbal negative participles in Kannada. They are tenseless, in contrast to the affirmative (positive) participles (3.5), although some distinctions of tense can be made by the use of aspectual verbs.

4.4.7.1 Adjectival negative participles. A negative adjectival participle is formed by adding *-ada* to a verb stem.

	affirmative ppl.	negative ppl.
(a)	*bar-oo huDga*	*bar-ad huDga*
	'The boy who comes'	'The boy who does not come'

A past negative adjectival participle can be formed by adding *-ada* to the perfective negative (4.4.2).

(b)	*band huDga*	*bandillad huDga*
	'The boy who came'	'The boy who didn't come'

A durative negative adj. ppl. can be formed by adding *-ada* to the durative negative (4.4.5).

(c)	*bart(aa) iroo huDga*	*bart(aa) illad huDga*
	'The boy who is coming'	'The boy who isn't coming'

The negative adj. ppl. of *iru* is simply the negative stem *ill-* plus *-ada*, and can be translated 'not being' as well as 'without'.

4.4.7.2 Negative verbal participle. The negative verbal participle is marked by adding *-ade* to the verb stem. This form has a meaning of 'not doing/having done such and such' or 'without doing something'. It is tenseless, although aspectual distinctions can be made by using the perfective aspect marker *iru* (3.8.9) in the negative, i.e. by attaching *illade* to the past positive verbal participle (3.5.2).

naan tinde hoode 'I went without eating'
niiv ciila tand-ild-idre, naanee koDtiini 'If you haven't brought a bag, I'll give you one'

Usually the main verb following a negative participle is positive, but sometimes it may be followed by a negative aspectual verb, in which case the two negatives cancel each other out. That is, the two following sentences are roughly equivalent in meaning (D.N.S. Bhat, 1977:5).

raaju aa sinma nooDde biDlilla 'Raju managed to see that
Raju that movie without-seeing did-not-leave movie with great effort'

raaju aa sinma nooD biTTa 'Raju managed to see that movie with
Raju that movie having-seen left great effort'

In these usages, the aspect marker *biDu* (3.8.2) gives a meaning here of doing something with great effort, but only if the two verbs are either both positive or both negative.

4.4.8 Negative modals. For a discussion of the negative forms of modal verbs, cf. 3.6.1-6.

4.5 Quotative verb. Kannada has a verb *annu* which has a number of special syntactic and semantic properties not shared by other verbs. It is essentially a 'quotative' verb, that is, what precedes it is meant by the speaker to indicate that s/he is not the person who originally said something, but is quoting some other source. The quotative verb can occur as a main verb, instead of verbs such as *heeLu* 'say, speak, tell', *maataaDu* 'speak, converse', or as a verbal participle marking the end of the quotative material, followed then by a main verb such as *heeLu*, *maataaDu*, *keeLu* 'hear, ask', etc.

(a) *avn bartiini anda* 'He said, "I will come"'
he I-come said

(b) *avn bartiini anta heeLda* 'He said, "I will come"'
he I-come having-said said

(c) *beesgeel haN beeg keT-hoogatte antaare* 'They say fruit spoils quickly in summer'
summer-in fruit soon bad goes they-say

(d) *beesgeel haN beeg keT-hoogatte ant heeLtaare* 'ditto'
having-said they-say

When *anta* occurs in the participle form before another verb, its translation is redundant (even though many grammars will translate it as 'having said' or 'thinking thus', etc.). It merely serves to set off quoted material from non-quoted material, and acts thus as a sort of overt quotation mark, the way some English speakers may say "unquote".

anta also occurs in many other constructions that are in structure like quotative sentences, but in some of these no direct or indirect quotation is meant. These will be dealt with below.

4.5.1 Reported speech. When speakers want to report that some unidentified source has said something, they use a slightly different form, *ante*, following the (last) finite verb in the sentence. *ante* may be translated in a number of ways: 'it seems', 'it is reported that', 'apparently', 'allegedly', 'I guess (that)', 'it looks like...', 'supposed to', 'they say (that)', etc.

(a) *avr naaLe kelsa maaDtaar ante* 'Apparently he'll work tomorrow'

(b) *avr meeSTr ante* 'It seems he is a teacher', 'He seems to be a teacher'

(c) *avn il bar-bood ante* 'They say he may come here'

(d) *niiv naaLe hoog-beek ante* 'You're apparently to go tomorrow'

(e) *avr inglaNDnal profesar aag-iddaar ante* 'He's supposed to have been a professor in England'

4.5.2 Direct and indirect speech. In Kannada there is no marked difference between direct and indirect speech. Unlike English, where the verb of the quoted sentence agrees in tense with the verb in the quoting sentence, and/or modals change to a subjunctive form ('will' to 'would', etc.), only pronouns + PNG markers of the embedded sentence change.

(a) [*naan bartiini*] *ant heeLde* 'I said, "I will come"' or 'I said I would come'

(b) [*naan bartiini*] *ant heeLda* 'He said, "I will come"'

Since the two subjects in (a) are the same, it can be either direct or indirect. The following is of course not grammatical:

(c) **naan bartaane ant heeLda*

In (c) the subject *naanu* does not agree with either of the verbs. When the subject of the main verb and of the embedded verb are the same, one may be deleted, and the other may occur either before or after the embedded sentence:

(d) [*naan bartiini*] *ant heeLde* or [*bartiini*] *ant naan heeLde*
'I said I would come' or 'I said, "I will come"'

When subjects of the two sentences are not the same, then 'scrambling' the order of the sentence in this way is not possible:

(e) **naan bartaane ant avn heeLde*

4.5.3 Intent. Instead of using a lexical verb such as *manassiru* or *nirdharisu* to express intent, Kannada usually uses one of a number of different constructions involving modals, the quotative marker *anta*, and sometimes the copula *iru*.

(a) *naan uurg hoogooNaa-nt-idde*
(b) *naan uurg hoog-beekuu-nt-idde*
'I intended to go to the town'

(c) *naan uurg hoog-beekuu-nt-iddiini*
(d) *naan uurg hoogooNaa-nt-iddiini* 'I intend to go to the town'
(e) *nang uurg hoog-beekuu-nt-ide*

These sentences differ in that some use *annu* as a lexical (main) verb, i.e. *antidde* 'I said' whereas others use it as a quotative marker, followed by forms of *iru*. Some use a PNG and tense-marked verb, while others use modals *beeku* 'must' and *ooNa* 'may, let's'. Finally, (e) uses a dative (impersonal) construction 'to me it is that I must go'. In meaning these forms differ primarily in the degree of certainty involved in the intent. Some might be translated merely 'I feel like doing X' or 'I have a notion to X' while others are more 'I definitely intend to do X'. Sentence (a) is more definite than the others, for example; those with modals are less certain than those with PNG marked verbs, and the modal *beeku* makes things stronger than the modal *ooNa*.

Less certain would be constructions like the following:

(f) *avn bar-beekuu*} *-nt-ir-boodu* 'He may be thinking about the possibility of coming'
bar-ooNaa}
(g) *avn bar-baarduu-nt-ir-boodu* {'He's probably intending not to come'
{'He's probably not intending to come'
(h) *avn bandru bar-boodu* 'He may just possibly come'

Intent constructions may also use lexical verbs such as *yoocane maaDu* 'brood over, cogitate', *tiirmaana maaDu* 'decide', *nene* 'think', as well as nouns such as *yoocane* 'thought' and *tiirmaana* 'decision'.

4.5.4 Limit on embedded sentences. By the use of *anta* one sentence can be contained or 'embedded' in another. There is theoretically no limit to the number of sentences that can be embedded in another sentence, just as in English one can theoretically get infinitely long strings like 'I said that he said that I said that he said...(etc.)'

(a) [[[*avn bartiinii-nt*]$_{S_1}$ *heeLdaa-nt*]$_{S_2}$*heeLidluu-nt*]$_{S_3}$*heeLtaare*$_{S_4}$
'They said that she said that he said that he would come'

In this example, three sentences, S_1, S_2, and S_3 are embedded in S_4. There are some restrictions on the tense markers and pronouns that occur in such embeddings -- they must 'make sense'; for example, the following is slightly strange:

(b) ?[[*naan bartiinii-nt*]$_{S_1}$*heeLtiinii-nt*]$_{S_2}$*heeL-beeku*$_{S_3}$
?'I must say that I am saying that I am coming'

whereas the following, with an embedded past tense, is acceptable:

(c) *naan* {*bartiinii-nt* / *bandee-nt*} *heeLdee-nt heeL-beeku*
'I must say that I said that {I am coming' / I came'}

If such sentences seem strange, one might imagine these kinds of assertions being called for in a court of law; the general limit on embeddings has more to do with speakers' limits of patience and/or memory than on any inherent limits in the language.

4.5.5 Obstinate negative. Usually quotative sentences with *annu* or *anta* require rational subjects, because usually only rational beings can speak. There are some cases where quotative verbs occur in sentences with non-rational subjects; since there can be no question of quotation with non-rational subjects, we must consider these constructions not to be quotative, but to have some other meaning, via personification.

(a) *kaar hoogollaa-ntide* 'The car refuses to move'
car won't-go it-says

The literal meaning here is 'the car says it won't go', but since cars can't speak, we must interpret this and other sentences like it to mean 'X refuses to Y'. This kind of construction we call 'obstinate negative'. Other examples:

(b) *huDga skuulg hoogollaa-ntaane* 'The boy refuses to go to school'
(c) *baTTe oNgollaa-ntide* 'The clothes refuse to dry'

In (b) the subject is indeed rational, so there is no restriction on the rationality or non-rationality of the subject.

4.5.6 Specific purpose. When quotative *anta* occurs following the dative case of a noun (or verbal noun) (2.3.4), the meaning is that something is specifically reserved for or dedicated to the use of some group or individual. As such, *anta* ought to be considered a postposition used with the dative case (2.4.2) since it is very close in meaning to the postposition *ooskara* 'for the sake of'.

(a) *makL aaT-aaDlikk-ant ond tooTa all-ide*
children playing for one garden there-is

'There is a garden there especially for children to play in'

In (a) the dative suffix is attached to the infinitive (3.2), itself originally a verbal noun form.

(b) *arasru tam heNtig-ant ond aramane kaTdaru*
king his wife for one palace built

'The king built a palace especially for his wife'

With *beeku*, *anta* may also occur to indicate purposefulness:

(c) *avn beekuu-nt maaDda* 'He did it on purpose'

The modal must be in the affirmative, otherwise this meaning is not found:

(d) **avn beeDaa-nt maaDda*

4.5.7 Other uses of *anta*. The quotative particle *anta* is used also in relative clause constructions (4.9), with onomatopoeic expressions, and with adverbs (4.2). It is useful to remember that it functions very much like the English complementizer (relative pronoun) 'that', as in 'I know that he is coming'. It can therefore be used with any verb that can take a 'complement' following 'that', i.e. the Kannada equivalents of 'know, suppose, think, feel, realize, say, tell, teach', etc.

(a) *avrig kannaDa barattee-nt gott-ide* '(I) know that he knows Kannada'
to-him Kannada comes that is-known

(b) *ii mane nimdee-nt tiL-koND bartaa ir-beeku*
this house yours that {knowing / considering} coming be must

'You must consider that this house is yours and come often'

(c) *ad mundin tingLu mugyattee-nt iT-koLLooNa*
it next month finishes that let-us-assume

'Let us take for granted that it will be over by next month'

(d) *haag maaDuu-nt heeL-beeku* 'We must say that (one should) do (like) that'
thus do that say must

4.6 Imperative sentences. Imperative sentences function to make commands or requests of the person spoken to. Generally, second person pronouns are considered to be the subjects of these imperative sentences and the verbs are never marked for tense or person-number-gender on the surface level. They are in most cases identical to the verb stem (cf. 3.1) with additional suffixes for politeness or lack of it. The use of the bare stem alone is equivalent to the 'non-polite' imperative, e.g. *hoogu* 'go!'. In addition, there is also what we might call an 'impolite' or 'casual' form consisting of verb stem plus the suffix *-oo* (for masculine) or *-ee* (for feminine), e.g. *hoogoo* 'go on, get out!'. These forms are used only with small children or between intimate friends; otherwise their use is demeaning and insulting. The polite or plural form consists of verb stem plus suffix *-i*, e.g. *hoogi* 'please go' or 'you (plural) go'. Beyond this, there is an even more polite form consisting of verb stem plus the suffix *-ri*, e.g. *hoogri* 'please go'. Finally, for very polite entreaties, the 'reflexive' pronoun *taavu* may be used with *-ri*: *taavu hoogri* 'I beg of you most humbly to go'.[1]

When the verb stem ends in *-i*, as many verbs do, there is no non-polite form in *-u*, so the bare stem in *-i* serves as this form. For politeness the form in *-ri* is then used.

Verbs are listed below in ascending order of politeness:

	stems ending in *-i*	other stems
impolite, casual	*kuDyoo* (masc.) *kuDyee* (fem.)	*hoogoo* (masc.) *hoogee* (fem.)
non-polite	*kuDi*	*hoogu*
polite, plural	*kuDiiri*	*hoogi*
very polite	*kuDiiri*	*hoogri*
ultra polite	*taavu kuDiiri*	*taavu hoogri*

The pronoun that would be used (is 'understood') with the impolite and the non-polite imperatives is *nii(nu)* 'you (sg.)', whereas with the polite and very polite, the pronoun *niivu* 'you (plural, polite)' is understood. With the ultra polite *taavu* is explicitly indicated.

Reduplication of imperative forms intensifies the forcefulness of the command:

hooghoogu 'Go, go!' or 'Get going!'
hoogri hoogri 'Please go!'

4.6.1 Negative imperative. The negative imperative, or prohibitive, is formed by adding *baaradu* (historically a negative form of the verb *baa/bar-* 'come'), *beeDa* (the negative of the modal *beeku* 'must', cf. 3.6.1.4) or *kuuDadu* ('prohibitive', 3.6.2) to the infinitive (with loss of *-al*) as shown below.

hoog-baardu	'don't go' (impersonal: "one doesn't do it")
hoog-beeDa	'don't go' (more personal: "you shouldn't do it")
hoog-kuuDdu	'you mustn't/shouldn't go'

These forms can be made polite by adding *-i*, *-ri*, and *taavu...-ri*:

bar-beeDi	'please don't come'
bar-beeDri	'I beg you not to come'
taavu bar-beeDri	'I most humbly beseech you not to come'

Some scholars consider the hortative form in *-ooNa* 'let's do (such and such)' to be an imperative. We prefer to treat it as a modal (3.6.6).

4.7 Reduplicatives. Reduplication (repeating a word more than once) is a process used in Kannada (as in many South Asian languages) to provide various semantic functions such as intensification, emphasis, addition, distribution, enumeration, etc. The reduplication may be partial (only part of a word is repeated) or full (the whole word is repeated) with or without any other intervening morpheme.

4.7.1 Intensification or emphasis. When adverbs such as *jooru* 'fast' are reduplicated, this emphasizes the qualities of the constituent modified. (This is particularly common in women's speech, especially with *tumba* 'much'.)

(a) *avn joor-joor-aagi ooDda* 'He ran very fast'

(b) *avn tumb-tumba keTTavnu* 'He is a very bad person'

(c) *avr beeg-beeg bandru* 'He/she came very quickly'

Verbs (but usually only in the affirmative) can also be reduplicated for emphasis by taking the infinitive (3.2) form of the finite verb, adding emphatic marker *-ee* (4.11.1), and then the finite verb.

(d) *avL hoogee hoogtaaLe* 'She will definitely go'

(e) *avn maaDee maaDtaane* 'He will definitely do it'

Modal verbs (3.6) can also occur reduplicated:

(f) *niin hoog beeD -vee beeDa* 'You shouldn't go at all;
you go not-wanted emph. not-want you definitely shouldn't go'

(g) *nii barkuuDl-ee kuuDdu* 'you definitely shouldn't come'

(h) *nang beek-ee beeku* 'I just want it, that's all'

Note that those modals that are truly defective (3.7) and therefore don't have infinitives, simply reduplicate the root (*beeDa*, *beek-*). To indicate prolonged duration, duratively marked verbs (3.8.10) can be reduplicated, but usually in an adverbial clause modifying the action of the main clause.

(i) *avn hoogtaa hoogtaa iddaaga, daariil ond bhaavi siktu*
he going going being-then road-in one well found

'As he kept on going, he found a well on the way'

(j) *avL maataaDtaa maataaDtaa, suurya muLugda.* 'As she kept on talking, the sun set'

4.7.2 Distribution. Pronouns (2.5), demonstrative pronouns (2.5.1) and other demonstrative pro-forms (2.5.2) can be reduplicated to give a sense of 'distribution', i.e., that there is a set of things, qualities, locations, manners, etc. that are found in different times and places.

(a) *een-een beeku?* 'What-all do you need?' (What different varieties of things...?)

(b) *yaar-yaar bandru?* 'Who-all came?' (What different people came?)

(c) *eST-eST koTri?* 'What different amounts did you give?'

(d) *elg-elg hoodru?* 'Where-all did they go?' (To what different places...?)

(e) *avr-avr makL avr-avrg muddu* 'Each one's child is lovable to him/her'

4.7.3 Enumeration. When numerals (2.7.1) are reduplicated, it has the function of enumerating pairs, sets, etc. of things.

(a) *il erD-erD jana bar-beeku* 'Have people come in pairs'
here two two people come must

(b) *makLig ayd - ayd miTaayi koDi* 'Give five candies to each child'
to-children five five candies give

4.7.4 Echo-word reduplication. When a word is partially reduplicated with another syllable (usually *gi(i)* or *pa(a)*) before the partially reduplicated portion, the meaning is 'X and things like it'.

huli gili	'tigers or other animals (like them)'
aaTa giiTa	'games or other diversions'
mane gine	'houses or other buildings'
uuTa giiTa	'food or other edibles'

When the word begins with any syllable other that *gi*, then *gi(i)* is the syllable prefixed to the partially reduplicated form: *hu*-*li* *gi*-*li* ('tigers and other animals'). When the word begins with *gi*, *pa(a)* is the syllable used on the reduplicated portion:

giLi paLi	'parrots or other birds'
giiTu paaTu	'lines or other markings'

Note that if the vowel of the first syllable is long, the vowel in the reduplicated syllable will also be long (*gii* or *paa*). Sometimes *pa(a)* is also used with words that do not begin with *gi(i)* in which case there is a difference of disjunction vs. conjunction:

uuTa giiTa	'food or other edibles'
uuTa paaTa	'food and other edibles'
tiNDi giNDi	'snacks or other munchies'
tiNDi paNDi	'snacks and other munchies'

4.7.5 Reduplication of onomatopoeic forms. Kannada (like most South Asian languages) has onomatopoeic forms that can be reduplicated before the quotative verb (4.5) to form adverbial expressions.

avn Tak-Tak ant hooda	'He went mechanically'
caDiyinda chaL-chaL ant hoDda	'He hit briskly with the whip'
niir kut-kuta ant kudiitu	'The water was about to boil'

4.8 Conditional. Conditional or 'if' clauses are formed in Kannada by the addition of *-are* to the past stem (3.10). The conditional ('if') clause precedes the 'result' ('then') clause, which simply has a finite verb. Since *-are* is added to the past stem, no tense distinctions are possible in this formation; the tense of the conditional verb is determined by the tense of the main verb in the 'then' clause. No PNG is possible with these formations, either, so conditionally marked verbs are the same for all persons, numbers, and genders.

bandre	'if one comes, if you come, if he comes, etc.'
koTre	'if one gives, if she gives, if they give, etc.'

(a) *avr bandre, avr-jote hoogtiini* 'If he comes, I will go with him'
(b) *naan keeLidre, niin heeL-beeku* 'You must answer if I ask (you)'

4.8.1 Future conditional. A future conditional can be formed by affixing the conditional of *aagu* 'become' (*aadre*) to a verbal noun (3.5.8).

koDood-aadre 'if (it comes about that) one has to give'

narood-aadre 'if (it happens that) one (has to) come(s)'

4.8.2 Conditionally marked aspectual verbs. Aspectually marked verbs (3.8) may also be conditionalized, in which case the aspect marker (marked for past tense) carries the conditional marker *-are*.

(a) *avn band-biTre niin hoog-beeDa* 'If it turns out that he comes, you needn't go'

(b) *niiv mugsiddre nang koDi* 'If you have finished (it), then give (it) to me'

(c) *niiv koDtaa iddre, naan togootiini* 'If you are giving (things) I'll take (some)'

4.8.3 Conditional of modals. Modals may be conditionally marked by adding the conditional of *aagu* 'become'.

beek-aadre 'if (you) like'

(a) *avr bar-beek-aadre naan barolla* 'If he must come, I won't come'

(b) *avrig beek-aadre naan koDtiini* 'If he needs (them) I will give (them)'

Note that in (b) above, dative subject sentences may also be conditionalized.

4.8.4 Conditional of quotative verb. Instead of *aadre* (which incidentally also means 'but') the conditional of the quotative verb *annu* (4.5) may also be used to conditionalize other verbs.

(a) *avrig beek-andre naan koDtiini* 'If he needs (them) I'll give (them)'

4.8.5 Topics, factives, focus. This form may also follow regular finite verbs as well as modals, and may be used as a topicalizer or focus-marker. When a finite verb precedes *andre* the meaning is often 'factive', i.e. 'if it is true that X'. When a noun phrase precedes *andre* the focusive meaning can often be translated 'as far as X is concerned, regarding X' as well as the more literal 'if (someone) says X'.

(a) *sinma andre nang huccu* 'I'm just crazy about movies' (Concerning movies, ...)

(b) *makL andre avLig tumba priiti* 'Now (as for) children, she really loves (them)'

(c) *kelsa maaDood-andre avnig aagolla* 'When it comes to working, he doesn't perform'

(d) *hoog-baard-andre, hoog-baardu* 'If I say you shouldn't go, don't go'

(e) *avn kelsa maaDtaan-andre, duD koDtiini* 'I will give him the money if it is true that he is going to work'

4.8.6 Conditional + emphatic. When the conditional marker is followed by the emphatic *taanee* the implication is that the speaker has some doubt about the truth of the proposition.

(a) *avn bandre-taanee naav hoogboodu* 'We can go only if he comes' (but I doubt he will)

(b) *cennaag oodidre-taanee paas aagoodu* 'One can pass (the exam) only if one studies well' (not the way you/he is studying)

4.8.7 Negative conditional. The negative conditional is formed by taking the negative verbal participle (4.4.7.2) followed by the conditional of *iru* (Spencer, 1950:230; Upadhyaya and Krishnamurthy, 1972:175).

maaDde iddre 'if (someone) doesn't do'

koDde iddre 'if (someone) doesn't give'

Sometimes instead of *iru*, the aspectual verb *hoogu* (3.8.3) is used instead:

maaDde hoodre 'if one doesn't do (it)'

nooDde hoodre 'if one doesn't see (something)'

Sometimes a verb may be aspectually marked with the negative participle of *iru* in its perfective sense (3.8.9, 4.4.7.2) or (following the present participle) in its durative sense (3.8.10), and then followed by *iru* marked for conditional:

maaDtaa ilde iddre 'if (someone) is not doing (something)'

In rapid speech by short vowel deletion (1.3.6) such strings (*ttaa illade iddre*) may be reduced to *-tildidre*.

maaD(u)t(taa)il(la)d(e)id(da)re → *maaDtildidre*

illade iddre (or *ildidre*) may also occur as a sentential adverb meaning 'otherwise' or 'if not'.

avn bartaane; ildidre naan bartiini 'He will come; otherwise I will come'

4.8.8 Concessive. The concessive is a form based on the conditional but with the clitic -*uu* added; the meaning is 'even if X' or 'although X'. When -*uu* is added the vowel -*e* of *are* is deleted. Concessives may be either positive or negative.

(a) *avn bandruu naan hoogolla* 'Even if/though he comes, I won't go'

(b) *niiv koTruu nang beeDa* 'Even if you give (it), I don't want/need it'

(c) *naan barde hoodruu avn bartaane* 'Even if I don't come he'll come'

(d) *niiv kelsa maaDtaa ildidruu naan keeLLilla* 'Even though you weren't working I didn't ask (you about it)'

4.8.8.1 The quotative marker *annu* + concessive. The quotative marker *annu* (4.5) can also be made concessive (cf. 4.8.4) and can follow modal verbs and nouns.

(a) *nimg beek-andruu avn koDolla* 'Even if you need it he won't give it'

(b) *duD hoogattee-ndruu avn suL heeLolla* 'Even though he'll lose money, he won't tell a lie'

4.8.8.2 Concessive clauses following an interrogative pro-form. Concessive clauses following an interrogative pro-form (2.5.2) have the meaning 'no matter wh-' or wh-ever':

(a) *yaar bandruu naan barolla* 'No matter who comes, I won't come'

(b) *yaavaag hoodruu avn maneel sikkolla* 'No matter when you go, he won't be at home'

(c) *avn eST prayatna maaDidruu saalolla* 'No matter how hard he tries, it won't be sufficient'

Instead of or in addition to -*uu*, the postposition *kuuDa* 'also' can be added, in which case the main clause is usually negative.

(d) *avn* $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textit{bandre}\\\textit{bandruu}\end{array}\right\}$ *kuuDa naan hoogolla* 'Even if he comes I won't go'

4.9 Relative clause construction. Relative clauses are formed in English by adding a clause whose subject is identical (co-referential) to another noun phrase in the main sentence, with 'that', 'who', or 'which' (and some others such as 'when', where', etc.) as the 'relative pronoun' linking the two clauses. For example, 'the boy came' and 'the boy is my brother' can be made into one sentence (if the two 'boys' are co-referential) by deleting one 'boy' and adding a relative pronoun ('who, that, which', etc.)

(a) The boy [the boy came] is my brother → The boy [who came] is my brother.

(b) The boy [the boy is my brother] came → The boy [who is my brother] came.

Sometimes in English two sentences can be combined by converting the verb of one of them into an adjective, and placing it before the noun.

(c) The house is infested with rats and The house must be torn down.
→ The [house is infested with rats] house must be torn down.
→ The [rat-infested] house must be torn down.

In Kannada, this process of converting the verb into an adjective and placing the whole sentence in front of the co-referential noun is the principal method used to make relative clauses. The process involves removing PNG markers from the verb and adding an adjectival *-a*. In the past the past tense marker is kept, but in the present the old LK future (3.4.4) stem in *-v* is used. The sequence *-u-v-a* is converted into *-oo* by phonological rules (1.3.6).

baru-v-a → *baroo (huDga)* '(the boy) who is coming/will come'

band-a huDga 'the boy who came'

The adjectival forms thus produced are called adjectival participles (3.5.4). Relativization of two separate sentences thus proceeds as follows:

(d) *ninne huDga banda* and *aa huDga nan tamma*
'The boy came yesterday' 'That boy is my younger brother'

→ *aa* [*ninne huDga banda*] *huDga nan tamma*

→ *aa* [*ninne banda*] *huDga nan tamma*

→ *aa ninne band huDga nan tamma*
'That boy who came yesterday is my younger brother'

Since one of the nouns is going to be deleted when these sentences are relativized, if the noun is case-marked, it will be deleted with its case-markings, and ambiguity will then result.

(e) *naan maneeg hoode* and *mane aa rasteel ide*
'I went to the house' 'The house is in that street'

→ [*naan maneeg hoode*] *mane aa rasteel ide*

→ [*naan hoode*] *mane aa rasteel ide*

→ *naan hood mane aa rasteel ide*
'The house I went to is in that street'

In English the preposition 'to' is not deleted, but the Kannada dative case marker *ige* is; therefore, there may arise some ambiguity, since the deleted case marker could also have well been *-inda* 'from' or some other one. In fact the case relationships in the relative clause may have either nominative, accusative, allative ('to the side of'), instrumental, or locative function with respect to the following head noun. Of course if the case-marked noun is not co-referential with another noun in another clause, it will not be deleted and will appear in the relative clause unchanged.

(f) *vasanta silambug maneel pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoTLu*
'Vasanta taught lessons to Silambu from a book at home'

(g) *vasanta silambug maneel pustkadind heeLkoT(Ta) paaT(h)a...*
'The lessons that Vasanta taught Silambu from a book at home...'

(h) *vasanta silambug maneel paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) pustka...*
'The book that Vasanta taught Silambu lessons from at home...'

(i) *vasanta silambug pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) mane...*
'The home in which Vasanta taught Silambu lessons from a book...'

(j) *vasanta maneel pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) silambu...*
'Silambu to whom Vasanta taught lessons from a book at home...'

(k) *silambug maneel pustkadind paaT(h)a heeLkoT(Ta) vasanta...*
'Vasanta who taught lessons to Silambu from a book at home...'

Sometimes deleted case relationships will cause ambiguity for non-Indian readers but not for Indian readers. For example, in the following sentence, it is clear to Indian readers that there is a locative relationship to the leaf.

(l) *silambu uuTa maaDid ele* 'the leaf which S. ate on' (not: 'the leaf that S. ate')

Sentence (j) above, with an indirect object (dative case) marker removed in the relativization process, is somewhat questionable. In LK this sentence could be passivized, and *silambu* would become the subject, but since passivization is uncommon in SK, there is a degree of unacceptability here.

4.9.1 Relativization of aspect-marked verbs. Verbs that are aspectually marked can also be relativized. Usually these are the perfective aspect marker *iru* (3.8.9) and durative aspect marker *-ttaa iru* (3.8.10), attached to a main verb.

(a) *al band-iroo huDga* 'the boy who has come there'
(b) *al band-id huDga* 'the boy who had come there'
(c) *al bartaa iroo huDga* 'the boy who is coming there'
(d) *al bartaa id huDga* 'the boy who was coming there'

4.9.2 Modally marked verbs. Verbs with modals can be relativized by affixing the verbalizer *aagu* (3.11.2), and relativizing it, but only in the past, or with *iru* (3.11.9) attached.

(a) *al bar-beek-aad huDga* 'the boy who should come there'

(b) *al bar-beek-aag-id huDga* 'the boy who should have come there'

(c) *al bar-beek-aag-iroo huDga* 'the boy who should be coming there'
(should have been coming?)

(d) **al bar-beek-aagoo huDga*

4.9.3 Equational sentences. When a sentence lacks a verb, as is the case with equational sentences (4.0.2), the sentence can be relativized by adding *aagu* in the same manner as in 4.9.2.

(a) *ad beeku* and *ad pustka*
'That is necessary' 'That is a book'

→ *ad beek-aad pustka* 'the book that was needed'

(b) *ad beek-aagid pustka* 'the book that had become necessary'

Some adjectives, that are formed from nouns, of course, have what amounts to the past adjectival participle of *aagu*, i.e. *aada*, added to them, without which they cannot occur.

(c) *sundara-v-aad huDgi* 'the girl who is beautiful'

(d) *ettar-v-aad mara* 'the tree that is tall'

(e) *ettar-v-aag-id mara* 'the tree that was tall'

(f) *ettar-v-aag-iroo kaTTaDa* 'the tall building'

Sentences (a) and (b) are distinct from a simple equational sentence such as

(g) *ad oLLee kaarya* 'that matter is good'

in that (a) and (b) have a way of marking tense/aspect, whereas (g) is an unmarked present. The use of *-aada* with adjectives indicates an inalienable or intrinsic quality or relationship; when an alienable or temporary or non-permanent (extrinsic) quality is indicated, the adjectival participle of *iru* is used instead:

(h) *duDD-iroo jaaga* 'the place which (temporarily) has wealth'

4.9.4 Complement clauses. There are some dependent clauses that do not bear any case relationship to nouns in main clauses; they have been called complement clauses. They are often used to express fact, in which case often the adjectival participle *annoo* (←*annuva*) of the quotative verb (4.5) is used.

(a) *avn band-id viSya* 'the fact that he had come'

(b) *goopaal biidiil kuNda annoo sangti nija* 'The proposition that Gopal danced in the street is true'

When it is present, a full sentence precedes it, but in its absence, the verb of the embedded sentence is made into an adjectival participle, e.g.:

(c) *goopaal biidiil kuNda sangti nija* 'The report that Gopal danced in the street is true'

4.9.5 Nominalizations. When a pronoun occurs with a relative clause in front of it, we get nominalized verbs (verbal nouns) (3.5.8), such as *maaDidadu* (←*maaDiddu*) 'that which (someone) did', *maaDid-avanu* (←*maaDid-oonu*) 'the man who did (something)'.

(a) *al band-avL nan heNti* 'The woman who came there is my wife'

(b) *ammu kelsa maaDoorg duD-koTLu* 'Ammu gave money to the people who are doing the work'

The meaning of the neuter-marked verbal noun such as *maaDidadu* can either be 'that which did', 'that which was done', 'the act of doing', or 'the fact of doing'. Sometimes to make it expressly factive *annoodu* (*annu-v-adu*) is present, but if it is absent, verbal nouns are formed.

(c) *goopaal biidiil kuNda annood nija* '(The fact) that Gopal danced in the street is true'

(d) *goopaal biidiil kuNdad nija* 'That Gopal danced in the street is true'

4.9.6 Negative relative clauses. Relative clauses with negative verbs can be formed by using the negative adjectival participle (3.5.7), formed by the addition of *-ada* to the stem: *maaD-ada* 'the (one) who did not do X'.

(a) *il kelsa maaDad huDga yaaru?* 'Who is the boy who did not/does not work here?'

Since there is no tense marking of the negative participle, it can be used with any time adverb and takes its tense from the context of the sentence:

(b) $\left.\begin{array}{r}\textit{naaLe}\\ \textit{ivvattu}\\ \textit{ninne}\end{array}\right\}$ *kelsa maaDad huDga yaaru?*

'Who $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{is}\\ \text{was}\end{array}\right\}$ the boy who $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{will not}\\ \text{is not}\\ \text{did not}\end{array}\right\}$ work(ing) $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{tomorrow}\\ \text{today}\\ \text{yesterday}\end{array}\right\}$?

However these forms can be given aspectual ('perfect') meaning by the addition of the negative adjectival participle of *iru* (3.8.9).

(c) *ninne kelsa maaD-illad huDga yaaru?* 'Who is the boy who has not worked yesterday?'

(d) *ninne il band-illad huDgi yaaru?* 'Who is the girl who has not come yesterday?'

Sometimes the verb *hoogu* can be used with the negative participle to express the notion 'past'.

(e) *kelsa maaDde hood huDga yaaru?* 'Who is the boy who didn't work' (...went without working)

4.10 Clefted sentences. In Kannada, as in English, there is a kind of sentence called a 'cleft' sentence. The process of clefting adds a degree of semantic 'focus' to some word or phrase that is singled out by the process. Clefting in English involves taking a sentence like 'I saw him yesterday at my house' and extraposing (moving to one end of the sentence, in this case the beginning) some element of this sentence while adding 'it is/was'.

(a) It was I who saw him yesterday at my house.
(b) It was yesterday that I saw him at my house.
(c) It was he whom I saw yesterday at my house. ("It was him I saw...")
(d) It was in my house that I saw him yesterday.

In Kannada, clefting involves changing a verb marked for PNG (in agreement with the subject (3.4)) to neuter marking (2.1). Thus, if the verb were (past) (*naan*) *nooDidde* 'I saw (something)' it would be changed to (*naan*) *nooDiddu* 'it was I that saw'. If the verb is in the present, it is changed to a verbal noun (3.5.8); then in either case the focussed part of the sentence is moved to the end of the sentence, after the (neuter marked) verb.

(e) *naan avnan nan maneel ninne nooDde*
I him my house-in yesterday saw
'I saw him yesterday in my house'

(f) *naan avnan nan maneel nooDid ninne*
'It was yesterday that I saw him in my house'

(g) *naan avnan ninne nooDid nan maneeli*
'It was in my house that I saw him yesterday'

(h) *naan nan maneel ninne nooDid avnanna*
'It was him that I saw in my house yesterday'

(i) *avnan nan maneel ninne nooDid naanu*
'It was I that saw him yesterday in my house'

Since any constituent can be clefted, it moves to the end of the sentence with all its case markings, attributive words (adjectives), etc. But not more that one major constituent can be clefted at a time:

(j) **naan nooDid avnan nan maneeli*
'?It was him in my house that I saw'

For further emphasis, the extraposed constituent can have emphatic particles or words added:

(k) *naan avnan nooDid nan maneelee*
'It was right in my house that I saw him'
(l) *avnan nooDid naan-maatra* 'It was I alone who saw him'

4.10.1 Optionality of extraposition. Clefting in Kannada usually involves two processes, extraposing and changing the verb to neuter, but sometimes extraposing (particularly in the case of interrogative sentences) can be omitted. It should also be noted that interrogative cleft sentences, particularly in the present tense, are often translated with 'can' or 'should' or 'supposed to' rather than 'what it is that...'.

(a) *naan een maaDoodu?* (instead of *naan een maaDtiini?*)
'What can/should I do?'
(b) *naan maaDood eenu?* 'What am I supposed to do?' (what can/should/shall...)
(c) *naan een maaDde?* 'What did I do?'
(d) *naan maaDid eenu?* 'What is it that I have done?'
(e) *naan een maaDiddu?* 'ibid.'

4.10.2 Clefting and interrogative pro-forms. When interrogative pronouns and other pro-forms (2.5.1-2) occur as modifiers of head nouns in interrogative sentences, only the modifying interrogative pro-form can be clefted; adjectives in particular can not be clefted without the nouns they modify.

(a) *avn eST kelsa maaDda?* 'How much work did he do?'
(b) *avn kelsa maaDid eSTu?* 'How much work was it that he did?'
(c) *avn maaDid eST kelsa?* 'How much work was it that he did?'

(d) *avn oLLe kelsa maaDda* 'He did good work'

(e) *avn maaDidd oLLe kelsa* 'It was good work that he did'

(f) **avn kelsa maaDidd oLLe*

When an interrogative pronoun is present and any other constituent is extraposed, emphatic or focusive clefting does not result. Instead, only stylistic variation, or afterthought word-order, is the result.

(g) *naan al eST-uuTa tinde?* 'How much did I eat there?'

(h) *naan al eST-uuTa tindiddu?* 'How much did I eat there?'

4.11 Clitics. Clitics are particles that can be added to any constituent of a sentence, with different semantic effect depending on the constituent. Kannada has a number of such clitics, such as the yes/no question marker *-aa* (see 4.3), the emphatic particles *-taanee* and *-ee*, the inclusive or additive suffix *-uu*, the indefinite or 'doubtful' suffix *-oo*, and *maatra* meaning 'only'. Clitics may also include the 'deictic' demonstrative prefixes (2.5.2), but here we only deal with suffixes. The grammatical category to which the clitic is suffixed is called the 'host'; clitics themselves are the same no matter which 'host' they are attached to; they never, however, occur in isolation.

4.11.1 The emphatic particle *-ee*. The clitic *-ee* is used to express emphasis. Ramanujan (1963:70) calls it an 'exclusive' particle (in contrast with *-uu*, which is inclusive). The addition of *-ee* to a host emphasizes the character of that host to the exclusion of other things or presuppositions or possibilities.

(a) *naan il bande* 'I came here'

(b) *naan-ee il bande* 'I myself (I alone) came here'

The addition of *-ee* to *naanu* indicates that the possibility that others also came is excluded. Emphatic *-ee*, like all clitics, can be added to all constituents of the sentence, except to adjectives and finite verbs. When it is added to finite verbs, i.e. the end of the sentence, the meaning is that the speaker feels that the addressee's presupposition or behavior is inappropriate. In such cases, the intonation pattern is also different, i.e. it falls, then rises and falls again, but not completely.

(c) *ammu ninne hos maneeg band-idlee* 'Ammu came to the new house yesterday (so why are you acting as if she hadn't?)'

This seems to indicate that adjectives, as we have noted earlier, are not constituents in deep structure, but only appear in surface structure.

(d) *ammu ninne hos maneeg bandidlu* 'Ammu came to the new house yesterday'
1 2 3 4 5 1 5 3 4 2

(e) *ammu-n-ee*[2] *ninne hos maneeg bandidlu* 'Ammu herself came to the new house yesterday'

(f) *ammu ninne-n-ee hos maneeg bandidlu* 'Ammu came to the new house yesterday'

(g) *ammu ninne hos maneeg-ee bandidlu* 'Ammu came to the new house yesterday'

(h) *ammu ninne hos maneeg bandee idlu* 'Ammu came indeed to the new house yesterday' ('Ammu did so come...)

(i) **ammu ninne hosee/hosavee maneeg bandidlu* 'Ammu came to the new house yesterday'

When *-ee* is used with time expressions, it emphasizes that the time indicated is earlier than the time stipulated or expected by the speaker.

(j) *avn ayd g(h)aNTeeg-ee bandbiTTa* 'He came at 5:00 (rather than later)' (he was here already at 5:00)

(k) *avn ayd g(h)aNTeeg band-biTTa* 'He came at 5:00 (as expected)'

In negative sentences, when the act referred to by the verb is emphasized, usually *-ee* is added to the verbal noun before *-illa* is added (3.5.8, 4.4.6).

(l) *avLig ad aagood-ee-illa* 'It doesn't suit her at all'

(m) *ammu al hoogood-ee-illa* 'Ammu doesn't go there at all'

In positive sentences, the past participle (3.5.2) is reduplicated with *-ee* added, followed by the finite verb:

(n) *naan bandee bartiini* 'I will certainly come' (I promise I will come)

(o) *avn hoog-ee hoogtaane* 'He will most certainly go'

Note that when *-ee* is added to the past participle, verbs that have past participles in *-i* (such as *hoogu* 'go' and *maaDu* 'make') delete this before *-ee*. If the verb has a modal auxiliary, either the verb, in its infinitive form, or the modal reduplicated, has the emphatic particle added:

(p) *niiv hoogl-ee beeku* 'You must definitely go'

(q) *niiv hoog-beekee beeku* 'You absolutely have to go'

(r) *avr hoog-kuuDL-ee kuuDdu* 'He shouldn't go at all'

4.11.2 The 'verificatory' *-oo*. When the clitic *-oo* is added to a constituent, it indicates that the speaker has some doubt or uncertainty about the host of the clitic, or is trying to clarify some uncertainty or express surprise he has about some element of the proposition. Also, it may indicate that the speaker has just realized that some presupposition he had about the situation has now been confirmed.

(a) *vasanta naaLe uurg hoogtaaLe* 'Vasantha goes to the village tomorrow'
(b) *(oohoo) vasantan-oo naaLe uurg hoogoodu* '(Oh, now I understand) it's Vasantha that's going to the village tomorrow, is she?'
(c) *(oohoo) vasanta naaLeen-oo uurg hoogoodu* '(Oh, now I get it) it's tomorrow that V. is going to the village, is it?'
(d) *(oohoo) vasanta naaLe uurgoo hoogoodu* '(Oh, now I get it) it's to the village that V. is going tomorrow, is it?'
(e) *(oohoo) vasanta naaLe uurg hoogtaaLoo?* 'Oh, so Vasantha is going to the village tomorrow, is she?'

The difference between the use of *-oo* and interrogative *-aa* in these sentences is that with *-aa*, the speaker is asking for information about the truth value of the sentence or its constituents, whereas here he is asking for confirmation of his belief about something. When the sentence is negative, the opposite of the proposition is believed by the speaker, who wants to confirm his belief.

-oo can also be added to a constituent as a topicalizer, in which case that constituent is extraposed to the beginning of the sentence. In this sense it can often be translated into English as 'as for X', or 'well/now, X'.

(f) *avnoo, erD doose tinda* 'As for him, he ate two dose's'
(g) *uurgoo, vasanta naaLe hoogtaaLe* 'As for the village, V. is going tomorrow'

4.11.3 Dubitative and disjunctive *-oo*. When two or more of the same type of constituent have *-oo* added to them, the meaning is 'either...or'.

(a) *avn-oo naan-oo naaLe nim maneeg bartiivi* 'Either he or I will come to your house'
(b) *avn dooseenoo iDLiinoo tinda* 'He ate either dose or idly'
(c) **avnoo naanoo ninne bandvi* ?'Either he or I came yesterday' (I'm not sure which)

Note that this cannot be used in the past when the facts of the situation are already known. In some dialects, when *-oo* is added to case-marked nouns, case markings, especially accusative, are obligatory. When *-oo* is added to interrogative proforms, indefinite proforms are created having the meaning 'some wh- or other' or 'wh- ever' (see 2.5.2).

(d) *ninne yaar-oo bandru* 'Yesterday somebody or other came'
(e) *naaLe yaar-oo bartaare* 'Someone or other will come tomorrow'
(f) **ninne yaar-oo barlilla* *'Someone or other didn't come yesterday'

Note that *-oo* may not be used with negative past forms as in (c).

4.11.4 The additive/inclusive particle *-uu*. When *-uu* is added to a constituent of a sentence, it gives the meaning 'too' or 'also'.

(a) *ammu ninne dooseen-uu tindlu* 'Ammu ate dose also'

This presupposes the presence of something in addition to the host constituent.

-uu can be added to any constituent except adjectives or to finite verbs.

(b) *ammuun-uu ninne doose tindlu* 'Ammu also ate dose yesterday'
(c) *ammu ninneen-uu doose tindlu* 'Ammu ate dose yesterday also'
(d) **ammu ninne doose tindl-uu*
(e) *ammu ninne hosaa baTTe haak-koNDLu* 'Ammu wore a new dress yesterday'
(f) **Ammu ninne hosa-v-uu baTTe haak-koNDLu* *'Ammu wore a new also dress yesterday'

The particle *-uu* is used to conjoin two similar constituents with the meaning 'and'. Usually these are nouns only. When verbs or sentences are conjoined, the first verb is in the form of the past participle (see 3.5.2), but no *-uu* is used.

(g) *ammuun-uu silambuun-uu ninne doose tindru* 'Ammu and Silambu ate dose yesterday'
(h) *ammu ninne dooseen-uu iDLiin-uu tindlu* 'Ammu ate dose and idli yesterday'

When *-uu* is added to interrogative pro-forms in negative sentences (see 2.5.2), the meaning is 'no-wh'.

(i) *avn ell-uu hooglilla* 'He didn't go anywhere'
(j) *yaar-uu il barlilla* 'No-one came here'
(k) **avn ell-uu hoogtaane* *'He went anywhere'

However, when *-uu* is added to *yaavaaga* 'when' (*yaavaag-uu*) it may occur in affirmative sentences.

When added to nouns preceded by numerals (see 2.7), or other quantifiers such as *ella* 'all' this notion of 'inclusion' extends to all members of the set under discussion.

(l) *avn ayd pustaggL(-ann)-uu oodda* 'He read all five books'

(m) *ninne ibr-uu bandru* 'Yesterday both of them came'

(n) *ellru maisuurg bandru* 'Everybody came to Mysore'

(o) *sarkaara ellaa uurg-uu ayd-ayd lakSa rupaayi koTTiddaare* 'The government has given Rs 500,000 to each town'

When *-uu* is added to a conditional form of the verb (see 3.10), the resultant combination means 'even if', or 'no matter if/whether' ('concessive').

(p) *avn nan up tindruu, drooha bagda* 'He betrayed me even after eating my food ("salt")'

This may be emphasized by adding *kuuDa* after *-uu*.

(q) *avn bandruu-kuuDa naan barolla* 'ibid.'

4.11.5 Substitution of *kuuDa*. Generally, *kuuDa* may be substituted in all places that *-uu* is used, except when *-uu* is used twice for conjunction.

(a) *avn-uu naan-uu bartiivi* 'He and I will come'

(b) **avn-kuuDa naan-kuuDa bartiivi*

4.11.6 The clitic *-taanee*. In order to emphatically or unambiguously assert the identity of things, persons, time, location, etc., the clitic *-taanee* is used in SK. This *-taanee* is different from reflexive *taanu* (see 2.5) and its variants, which can only occur with third person subjects. Secondly, *-taanee* like all clitics is invariant, no matter what the case or number of the subject, whereas reflexive *taanu* can vary with case. Thirdly, reflexive *taanu* always refers to an animate noun, whereas clitic *-taanee* goes with any kind of noun. Fourthly, *-taanee* immediately follows the host, whereas *taanu* is flexible in its position.

(a) *avn-taanee banda* 'He himself came' (or 'he's the one who came') (or 'he personally came')

If a pause occurs between the noun phrase and *taanee*, it is inferred that *taanee* is an occurrence of the reflexive pronoun *taanu* plus emphatic *-ee*. In such cases the subject must be third person, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

(b) **naan...taanee bande*

(c) *naan-taanee avnig ii viSya heeLiddu* 'It was I who told him this' or
'I myself told him this'

(d) *naav ninne-taanee uurg hoogidvu* 'We went to town only yesterday'
(just yesterday)

4.11.7 Multiple clitics in one sentence. Normally each clitic particle occurs only once with a host, i.e., no host usually has more than one clitic at a time.[3] But there may be more than one clitic in a sentence, and the same clitic may occur twice, as in the case of *-oo...-oo* meaning 'either...or', or *-uu...-uu* meaning 'and'. Usually *-ee* is not found in multiples in a sentence. When more than one clitic, e.g. *-ee* and *maatra* are to be added in the same sentence, they occur as follows:

(a) *ammu* $\underset{1}{\underline{\textit{maatra}}}$-*v*-$\underset{2}{\underline{\textit{ee}}}$ *maisuurg bandlu* '$\underset{2}{\underline{\text{Only}}}$ Ammu $\underset{1}{\underline{\text{alone}}}$ came to Mysore'

The additive particle *-uu* and the isolative particle *maatra* do not co-occur because of the semantic anomaly; similarly, *-ee* and *-oo* do not co-occur. When *-uu* and *-ee* co-occur their preferred order is as in the following example.

(b) *ammuun-*$\underline{\textit{uu}}$*-v-*$\underline{\textit{ee}}$ *al hoodlu* '$\underline{\text{Ammu}}$ also went there'

The correct use of clitics is difficult for anyone who is not a native speaker of Kannada. We await further study of this semantically complex area of Kannada grammar.

4.12 Consecutive action. Kannada has a number of ways in which to express one action following another. They differ slightly depending on the nature of the consecutive action, i.e. whether the action is immediate, the result of the previous action, sequential, simultaneous, delayed, or whatever. Usually the first verb is in the form of the past participle (3.5.2), followed by an aspect marker (3.8), various postpositions (2.4), adverbs (4.2), or other verbal suffixes. For the formation of the verbal participle, cf. 3.4.3 and 3.5.

4.12.1 Sentence conjunction. Any two sentences in Kannada can be conjoined by removing the PNG markers of the first and making its past tense, then following this sentence with the second sentence. In English this is usually done by adding 'and' and deleting some portion of the second sentence, usually the noun phrase if they are identical.

(a) *naan bartiini + naan nimman nooDtiini → naan band nimman nooDtiini*
'I will come' 'I will see you' 'I will come and see you'

(b) *naan bande + naan nimman nooDde → naan band nimman nooDde*
'I came and saw you'

4.12.2 Manner. Two sentences in Kannada can be conjoined in order to show the manner in which two actions occur.

(a) *naan maneeg ooDde + naan maneeg bande → naan maneeg ooD bande*
'I ran to the house' 'I came to the house' 'I came running to the house'

In (a) the actions of running and coming are simultaneous, running being the manner of coming.

4.12.3 Causation. In some cases, where the subjects of the two sentences are different, a cause and effect relationship is shown:

(a) *maLe band kuLa tumbtu* 'The rain came and (therefore) the tank filled'
rain came tank filled

(b) *mara bidd avn kai murd-hooytu* 'The tree fell and his hand broke'
tree fell his hand broke (...and it broke his hand)

In such causal relationships, the action that causes another must occur first in the sentence.

4.12.4 Sequential relations. More often than not the conjunction of two sentences implies that the action of the first sentence happens in time before the action of the second.

(a) *naan avn nooD bande* 'I came after I saw him'
I him seen came

(b) *naan ii pustka ood tiLkoNDe* 'After I read the book, I understood'
I this book having-read understood

In (a) the sequence, either immediate or delayed, of the two actions is implied. In (b), it can be understood either that reading caused understanding, or that the means of understanding was through reading, or that reading preceded understanding. When sentences are conjoined that have the same subject, as in (a) and (b), the subject may be deleted, but presence or deletion of the subject makes no difference in meaning, and either the subject of the first or of the second sentence may be deleted:

(c) *naan avn nooDde + naan bande → naan avn nooDi, bande*
I him saw I came or

'I came after seeing him' *avn nooDi, naan bande*

However when the action of the first verb indicates the manner in which the second action is carried out, or where there is a 'conceptual unity' involved, then the object occurs before the two verbs:

(d) *avn pustka tegd oodda* 'He opened the book and read' (Opening the book,
he book opening read he read)

When the two actions are consecutive but there is a conceptual 'discreteness' then the object occurs after the first verb in its participial form:

(e) *avn tegd pustka oodda* 'He opened the book and then read it'
he opening book read

It is possible (though very rarely) to pronominalize the second of two objects in this construction (i.e. the second of the deleted objects):

(f) *?avn pustka tegd adan oodda* 'He opened the book and read it'

If one object is deleted, this does not imply that it is the same as another object in the other sentence, however. Kannada has much more freedom of deletion of objects than does English, which can be seen from many other examples in this volume where Kannada lacks an object in the surface structure of the sentence in places where the English translation of the Kannada sentence must have one.

(g) *kaLDru mane biiga tegd oLag nooDidru*
thieves house lock opened inside look

'The thieves opened (broke) the house-lock and looked inside (the house)'

In (g) the object of looking is the house, not the lock.
When one of the verbs of a conjoined sentence is intransitive and the other is transitive, there are a number of possible placements of the object noun (and some impermissible placements):

(h) *avn avLhatra hooda + avn avLan nooDda*
he her-to went he her saw

(i) *avn avLan hoog nooDda*
(j) *avn hoog avLan nooDda* } 'He went and saw her'
(k) **avn nooD avLan hooda*

4.12.4.1 Sequential relations with *meele*. When a small amount of time elapses between two actions, this may be expressed with a postposition such as *meele* 'after, whereupon' (2.4). Postpositions must follow the adjectival participle (3.5.5-6). Usually the past adjectival participle is required after these postpositions.

(a) *avr band-meel niiv banni* 'Please come after he comes'

(b) *naan hood-meel niin hoogu* 'Go after I go'

4.12.5 Delayed sequential relations. When the aspect marker *biDu* 'completive' (3.8.2) is attached to the first verb, it indicates that the first action is definitely complete before the second begins. The use of *biDu* with certain transitive and intransitive verbs also has some other connotations, such as whether the action was deliberate and difficult to achieve, whether it was accidental, or unintentional, undesirable, etc. (cf. 3.8.2).

(a) *avn kuDid-biTTu, bariitaa-idda* 'He was writing after having been drinking' (He drank (alcohol) and then went on writing)

4.12.6 Simultaneous action. When two actions are simultaneous, starting and ending at the same time, the durative aspect marker *-ttaa* (3.8.10) is added to the present stem of the first verb.

(a) *naan adan nooDtaa bande* 'I came (while) seeing it'

(b) *avn yoocne maaDtaa kuutidda* 'He was sitting, (all the while) thinking (about it)'

When the action of one sentence is iterative, i.e., repeated several times during the time span of the second action, then the past participle of the aspectual verb *koLLu* (3.8.8) is added to the past participle of the first verb.

(c) *naan adan nooD-koNDee bande* 'I came looking at it'

(d) *avn tin-koNDee maataaDda* 'He spoke (to us) while eating (something)'

In such cases the emphatic clitic *-ee* is added to the participle *koNDu*: *koNDee*.

4.12.7 Immediate consecutive action. The postpositions *oDane*, *kuuDale*, or *takSNa* may be used to express action that follows immediately on the heels of another. These must follow the adjectival participle (3.5.4).

(a) *naan nooDid takSNa horTe* 'I left as soon as I saw (it)'

(b) *niiv baay biTT oDane avr nakru* 'He laughed as soon as you opened your mouth'

(c) *naan nooDid kuuDLe avn hooda* 'As soon as I saw (him) he left'

(d) *avn oLag band kuuDle siinda* 'As soon as he came in he sneezed'

4.12.8 Prior sequential action. When action A clearly precedes action B and this precedence is emphasized, rather than indicating in an unmarked way that B merely follows A, the postposition *munce* 'before' is used. The verb to which it is suffixed must be in the form of the verbal noun (3.5.8) or the infinitive (3.2), both with optional dative, since the infinitive is itself originally a nominal form. Thus, for a verb like *nooDu* 'see', the verbal noun is *nooDu+vu+du(+akke* 'dative') → *nooDood(akke)* → *nooDo(kke) + munce* 'before seeing'; the infinitive of *nooDu* is *nooDalu* which (particularly in the northern dialect; McCormack, 1966:85-6) has the dative form *nooD(a)likke + munce*, gives us forms such as:

nooDok-munce 'before seeing' or *nooDalik-munce* 'ibid'

(a) *naan nooDok-munce avn hooda* 'He went away before I saw (him)'

(b) *avr tinlik-munce kai toLkoNDru* 'He washed his hands before he ate'

4.12.9 Wholly included simultaneous action. If one action is completely contained within the time span of another, beginning no sooner than the other begins and/or ending before the other ends, the adverb *-aaga* 'at that time' is used. It is attached to the present or past adjectival participle (3.5.5-6).

(a) *naan bengLuurg hoog-id-aaga avr sikk-idru*
I Bangalore-to went when he was-available
'I met him when I went to Bangalore' (during the time I went and stayed in B.)

(b) *niiv baroo-v-aaga adan tanni* 'You must bring that (to me) when you come'
you come when that bring

(c) *naav maNDyadall-idd-aaga naayi saakidvi* 'We kept a dog while we were living in Mandya'

Another way of expressing an action taking place within the time span of another is by using the adverbial expression *aST-ar-oLage* 'before (some other occurrence)', 'within that (much) time', 'while'. It is attached to an adjectival participle (3.5.5).

(d) *naan baroo aSTroLge magu galiij maaDbiTTittu*
I coming while child mess had-made
'The child had made a mess before I could get back'

4.12.10 Illustration of various sequential relations. The sequential relations of the two actions discussed above can be illustrated in the following table: the symbols '11111' refer to the first action; the symbols '22222' refer to the second.

marker used	diagramatic representation	section number
1. *-munce* 'before'	111111 222222	4.12.8
2. *-ttaa* 'simultaneous'	111111 222222	4.12.6
3. *-koNDu (ee)* 'while'	111111 2222	4.12.6
4. *-aST-ar-oLage* 'before some other occurrence'	111111 2222	4.12.9
5. *-aaga* 'when'	111111 222222(2)	4.12.9
6. *kuuDle* 'immediately after'	111111 22222	4.12.7
7. *takSNa, oDane* 'immediately following'	111111 222222	4.12.7
8. past participle	111111 222222	4.12.4
9. *meele* 'after'	111111 222222	4.12.4.1
10. *biDu* 'completive'	1111 2222	4.12.5

Footnotes to Chapter 4

[1] For a detailed discussion of the pragmatic and semantic aspects of address forms in Kannada, see Bean (1978).

[2] Rather than the glide *v* appearing between *u* and *ee*, -*n*- is inserted instead (cf. 1.3.5).

[3] In rare cases, two instances of -*uu* may occur with a host, e.g.
avanige + *uu* + *(n)* + *uu* → *avnguunuu* 'he, too'

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INDEX

Topic — Section Number

-aadaru with WH-interrogatives 4.3.5.3
aaDu 'durative/competitive' aspect marker 3.8.4
aagu in construction with nouns 3.7.6
  irregular past of 3.4.3.9
  as verbalizer 3.11.2
aar- negative contingent 3.6.4
ablative/instrumental case 2.3.6
accusative case 2.3.3
  of pronouns 2.5.3.2
  postpositions with 2.4.3
action, consecutive 4.12
  prior sequential 4.12.8
  simultaneous 4.12.6
    whole inclusion 4.12.9
additive/inclusive particle *-uu* 4.11.4
adjectival negative participles 4.4.7.1
adjectival participles, denominal 4.1.5
  negative of 3.5.7
  past 3.5.6
    syntax of 4.1.3
  perfect 4.1.4
  postpositions with 2.4.4
  present 3.5.5
    syntax of 4.1.2
  syntax 4.1.1
  use of 3.5.4
adjectival use of WH-interrogatives 4.3.4
adjectives 2.6
  color 2.6.4
  comparison of 2.6.7
  derived from nouns and "defective" verbs 2.6.3
  demonstrative 2.6.6
  deverbal 2.6.2
  nominalized 2.6.5
  superlatives of 2.6.8
  syntax of 4.1
  "true" 2.6.1
adverbs 4.2
  derived 4.2.1
  sentential 4.2.2
  syntax of 4.2

affirmative and negative modals, table of 3.6.7
  adjectival participles 3.5.5
  verbal participles 3.5.1
-anta, use in quoted speech 4.5
  quotative, with *beeku* 3.6.1.2
  other uses of 4.5.7
appositive constructions, *beeku* in 3.7.3
-are, conditional suffix 3.10
aspect markers, verbal 3.8
  aaDu, 'durative/competitive' 3.8.4
  aagu, 'finality' 3.8.11
  biDu, 'completive' 3.8.2
  haaku 'exhaustive, malefactive' 3.8.7
  hoogu 'completive' 3.8.3
  inventory of 3.8.1
  iru, 'perfective' 3.8.9
  koDu, 'benefactive' 3.8.5
  koLLu, 'self-benefactive' 3.8.8
  negative of 3.8.13
  nooDu, 'experimentive' 3.8.6
  others in LK and other dialects 3.8.12
  -ttaa iru, 'durative' 3.8.10
aspectual verbs, conditional of 4.8.2
  relativized 4.9.1
assimilation and reduction, consonant clusters 1.3.7
auxiliaries, modal 3.6

baa, indicating 'knowing' 3.7.5
bari, conjugation of 3.4.5.7
beeDa, beeDi, negative of *beeku* 3.6.1.4
beeku 'want, need, must, should, ought' 3.6.1
  in appositive constructions 3.7.3

  with emphatics 3.6.1.3
  negative of 3.6.1.4
  paradigms of 3.7.1
  with quotative 3.6.1.2
  tenses of 3.6.1.1
beeyu, conjugation of 3.4.5.4
benefactive aspect marker *koDu* 3.8.5
biDu and *aaDu*, as verbalizers 3.11.4
biDu, completive aspect marker 3.8.2
biiLu, conjugation of 3.4.5.3
boodu, modal verb 'may, can' 3.6.3
  negative of 3.6.3.1

'can, may', *boodu* 3.6.3
cannot, may not, negative contingent *-aar* 3.6.4
cardinal numerals 2.7.1
case system 2.3

case, accusative	2.3.3
dative	2.3.4
genitive	2.3.2
instrumental/ablative	2.3.6
locative	2.3.5
of pronouns	2.5.3
markers, alternate use of	2.3.9
with plurals	2.3.8
nominative	2.3.1
vocative	2.3.7
causation, and consecutive action	4.12.3
causative *-isu*	3.9
clefting	4.10
and interrogative pro-forms	4.10.2
clitics	4.11
-ee	4.11.1
kuuDa	4.11.5
-oo	4.11.3
taanee	4.11.6
-uu	4.11.4
and concessive, WH-interrogatives with	4.3.5
multiple in one sentence	4.11.7
color adjectives	2.6.4
comparison of adjectives	2.6.7
'competitive/durative' aspect, *aaDu*	3.8.4
complement clauses	4.9.4
and relativization	4.9.4
'completive' aspect, *hoogu*	3.8.3
biDu	3.8.2
concessive	4.8.8
-aadaru with WH-interrogatives	4.3.5.3
and interrogative pro-forms	4.8.8.2
quotative verbs and	4.8.8.1
WH-interrogatives with	4.3.5
conditional	4.8
-are	3.10
and emphatic	4.8.6
future	4.8.1
of aspectual verbs	4.8.2
of modals	4.8.3
negative	4.8.7
of quotative verb	4.8.4
conjugations, examples of verbs	3.4.5
conjunction, of sentences	4.12.1
consecutive action	4.12
immediate	4.12.7
consonants	1.2
consonant cluster reduction and assimilation	1.3.7
dentals	1.2.4
gemination	1.3.4
labials	1.2.5
nasal, past of stems ending in	3.4.3.2
other	1.2.6

consonants, palatal 1.2.2
  retroflex 1.2.3
  velar 1.2.1
contingent, negative: *aar-* 3.6.4
  PNG markers, positive 3.4.1.3
continuants 1.2.6.3

dative case 2.3.4
  forms, summary of 2.3.4.1
  postpositions with 2.4
  of pronouns 2.5.3.3
dative-stative verbs 3.7
  paradigms of 3.7.1
defective verbs 3.7
  adjectives derived from 2.6.3
deletion of pronouns 2.5.4
demonstrative adjectives 2.6.6
demonstrative pronouns 2.5.1
denominal adjectives 2.6.3
denominal adjectival participles 4.1.5
derived adverbs, syntax of 4.2.1
direct and indirect speech 4.5.2
disjunctive *-oo* 4.11.3
distribution, reduplicatives in 4.7.2
dubitative *-oo* 4.11.3
durative aspect, *-ttaa iru* 3.8.10
'durative/competitive' aspect *aaDu* 3.8.4
durative negative 4.4.5
-D-, verbs with short vowel stems ending in 3.4.3.6

echo-word reduplication 4.7.4
-ee, emphatic particle 4.11.1
embedded sentences 4.5.4
  limits on 4.5.4
emphatics, *beeku* with 3.6.1.3
  conditional and 4.8.6
  particle *-ee* 4.11.1
  with *beeku* 3.6.1.3
enumeration, reduplicatives in 4.7.3
enunciative vowels 1.3.3
equational sentences 4.0.2
  relativization of 4.9.1
'exhaustive, malefactive' aspect marker *haaku* 3.8.7
'experimentive' aspect marker *nooDu* 3.8.6
extraposition, and clefting 4.10.1
  optionality of 4.10.1

factive, conditional in 4.8.5
'finality', *aagu* as aspect marker for 3.8.11
final laterals, past of stems with 3.4.3.3
  stems with, conjugation of 3.4.5.3

- final vowel raising 1.3.8
  - *y*, past of stems in 3.4.3.4
- finite negatives 4.4.1
- focus, conditional in 4.8.5
- fricatives 1.2.6.2
- future-habitual negative 4.4.3
- future, use of present for in SK 3.4.4

- gemination of consonants 1.3.4
- gender and "rationality" 2.1
- genitive case 2.3.2
  - forms, summary of 2.3.2.1
  - and oblique forms of pronouns 2.5.3.1
  - postpositions with 2.4.1
- glides 1.2.6.1
  - insertion of 1.3.5
  - reduction of 1.3.5.1
- *gottu*, paradigm of 3.7.1

- *haaku*, 'exhaustive/malefactive' aspect marker 3.8.7
- habitual negative 4.4.3
- *hoogu* 'go', conjugation of 3.4.5.9
  - completive aspect marker 3.8.3
  - irregular past of 3.4.3.9
  - with transitive verbs 3.7.7
- hortative modal *-ooNa*, 'let's' 3.6.3-6

- *-i*, optative 3.6.5
  - final, verb stems with, conjugation of 3.4.5.7
  - stems ending in, past of 3.4.3.7
- immediate consecutive action 4.12.7
- imperative 3.3
  - negative of 3.3.1, 4.6.1
  - sentences 4.6
- inclusion, and *-uu* 4.11.4
- infinitive 3.2
- instrumental/ablative case 2.3.6
  - forms of pronouns 2.5.3.5
- intensification, emphasis 4.7.1
- intent 4.5.3
- interrogative 4.3
  - pro-forms and clefting 4.10.2
    - and concessive 4.8.8.2
  - syntax of 4.3
  - WH-, syntax of 4.3.1
- *iru*, 'be located', PNG markers of 3.4.1.2
  - conjugation of 3.4.5.5
  - negative of 4.4.6
  - perfective aspect marker 3.8.9
  - indicating possession 3.7.4
- irregular verbs, conjugation of 3.4.5.9
  - past of 3.4.3.9
- *-isu*, causative 3.9
- *iSTa*, paradigm of, as dative-stative verb 3.7.1

kaDe, as postposition 2.4.4
kali, 'learn', conjugation of 3.4.5.7
knowing, *baa* indicating 3.7.5
    gottu 3.7.1
koDu benefactive aspect marker 3.8.5
    conjugation of 3.4.5.6
koLLu, 'reflexive/self-benefactive/simultaneous aspect marker 3.8.8
kuuDa, for *-uu* 4.11.5
kuuDadu, negative modal 3.6.2

lateral consonants 1.2.6.3
    final, past of stems with 3.4.3.3
'let', optative modal *-i* 3.6.5
'let's, hortative modal *-ooNa* 3.6.6
Literary Kannada (LK), other aspect markers in 3.8.12
locative case 2.3.5
    forms of pronouns 2.5.3.4
    summary of 2.3.5.1
long vowels, shortening of 1.3.6.1

maaDu, conjugation of 3.4.5.1
maaDu, *maaDisu* as verbalizers 3.11.1
'malefactive/exhaustive' aspect marker *haaku* 3.8.7
manner, and consecutive action 4.12.2
'may, can', *boodu* 3.6.3
'may not, cannot', negative contingent 3.6.4
meele, sequential relations with 4.12.4.1
modal auxiliaries 3.6
    beeku, 'must, need, want, should, ought' 3.6.1
    boodu, 'may, can' 3.6.3
    conditional of 4.8.3
    hortative *-ooNa* 3.6.6
    negative 3.6.1-6, 4.4.8
        kuuDadu 'should not' 3.6.2
        of *-ooNa* 3.6.6.1
    optative *-i*, 'let' 3.6.5
    relativization of 4.9.2
morphophonemics 1.3
    of Sanskrit loan words 1.3.1
'must' *beeku* 3.6.1

nagu, 'laugh', irregular past of 3.4.3.9
nasal consonant, past of stems ending in 3.4.3.2
    verb stems in, conjugation of 3.4.5.2
'need' *beeku* 3.6.1
negation 4.4
    of adjectival participles 3.5.7
    of aspect markers 3.8.13
    of *beeku* 'want, need, must, should, ought' 3.6.1.4
    of *boodu* 'can, may'

negative conditional 4.8.7
  contingent *aar-* 'cannot, may not' 3.6.4.1
  durative 4.4.5
  finite forms 4.4.1
  imperative 3.3.1
  of *iru* 4.4.6
  modals 4.4.8
    of *beeku: beeDa* 3.6.1.4
    of *boodu* 3.6.3.1
    kuuDadu 3.6.2
  obstinate 4.5.5
  of *-ooNa* 3.6.6.1
  participles 4.4.7
  past 4.4.2
  perfective 4.4.4
  present-future-habitual 4.4.3
  relative clauses 4.9.6
  syntax of 4.4
  verbal participles 3.5.3, 4.4.7.2
  verbal participial nouns 3.5.9
nooDu, 'experimentive' aspect marker 3.8.6
nominalizations, and relative clauses 4.9.5
nominalized adjectives 2.6.5
nominative case 2.3.1
nouns 2.0
  aagu in construction with 3.7.6
  adjectives derived from 2.6.3
  participial, negative verbal 3.5.9
  and noun phrases 4.0.3, 2.0
      syntax of 4.0.3
number 2.2
numerals 2.7
  cardinal 2.7.1
  ordinal 2.7.2

o, stems ending in, past of 3.4.3.8
      conjugation of 3.4.5.8
oblique forms of pronouns 2.5.3.1
  stems 2.3.2.2
obstinate negative 4.5.5
onomatopoeic forms, reduplication of 4.7.5
-oo, disjunctive 4.11.3
  dubitative 4.11.3
  and verification 4.11.2
  WH-interrogatives with 4.3.5.1
-ooNa, hortative 3.6.6
  negative of 3.6.6.1
optative modal *i*, 'let' 3.3.2, 3.6.5
ordinal numerals 2.7.2
ought *beeku* 3.6.1

paDu, as verbalizer 3.11.3
paradigms of verbs 3.4.5
participial nouns, negative verbal 3.5.9
participles 3.5
adjectival, denominal 4.1.5
negative of 3.5.7
past 3.5.6
syntax of 4.1.3
postpositions with 2.4.5
present 3.5.5
syntax of 4.1.1
use of 3.5.4
negative 4.4.7
adjectival 4.4, 4.4.7.1
verbal 4.4.7
perfect adjectival, syntax of 4.1.3
verbal, present 3.5.1
past 3.5.2
passives, *paDu* and *aagu* in 3.11.3
past tense 3.4.3
of adjectival participles 3.5.6
syntax of 4.1.3
negative 4.4.2
of irregular stems 3.4.3.9
of short vowel stems in *-D-* 3.4.3.6
in *-r-* 3.4.3.5
stems ending in *-i* 3.4.3.7
nasal consonant 3.4.3.2
-o 3.4.3.8
with final lateral 3.4.3.3
-y 3.4.3.4
tense markers 3.4.3
PNG markers 3.4.1.4
of verb stems 3.1.1
of verbal participles 3.5.2
of weak verbs 3.4.3.1
perfect adjectival participles, syntax 4.1.3
perfective negative 4.4.4
phonology 1.0
summary of 1.3.10
phrases, noun 4.0.3
verb 4.0.4
plurals, case markers with 2.3.8
P(erson)-N(umber)-G(ender) markers 3.4.1
of *iru*, 'be located' 3.4.1.2
past tense 3.4.1.4
positive contingent 3.4.1.3
present tense 3.4.1.1
verbs marked with tense and 3.4
positive contingent, PNG markers 3.4.1.3

postpositions 2.3.9
  with accusative 2.4.3
    adjectival participles 2.4.4
    dative 2.4.2
    genitive 2.4.1
    kaDe 2.4.4
possession, *iru* indicating 3.7.4
predicate 4.0.2
present tense marker 3.4.2
  of adjectival participles 3.5.5
    syntax of 4.1.2
  -future (habitual) negative 4.4.3
  PNG markers 3.4.1.1
  verbal participles 3.5.1
prior sequential action 4.12.8
pro-forms 2.5.2
  interrogative and clefting 4.10.2
    and concessive 4.8.8.1
pronouns 2.5
  accusative of 2.5.3.2
  case system of 2.5.3
  dative of 2.5.3.3
  deletion of 2.5.4
  demonstrative 2.5.1
  genitive and oblique forms of 2.5.3.1
  instrumental/ablative of 2.5.3.5
  locative of 2.5.3.4
purpose, specific 4.5.6

quantifiers 2.6.9
questions 4.3
  tag 4.3.3
quotative verb *-anta* 4.5
  beeku with 3.6.1.2
  conditional of 4.8.4
  and concessive 4.8.8.1

r, final, verb stems with short vowel 3.4.5.5
  past of 3.4.3.5
"rationality", gender and 2.1
reduction/deletion of vowels 1.3.6
reduplicated WH-interrogatives 4.3.2
reduplication, echo-word 4.7.4
reduplicatives 4.7
reflexive aspect, *koLLu* 3.8.8
relative clauses 4.9
  negative and 4.9.6
relativization of aspectual verbs 4.9.1
  equational sentences 4.9.1
  and modal verbs 4.9.2
  and nominalizations 4.9.5
replacement of vowels 1.3.9
reported speech 4.5
retroflex assimilation 1.3.2

saaku, paradigm of 3.7.1
saayu, conjugation of 3.4.5.4
sandhi 1.3
Sanskrit loan words, morphophonemics of 1.3.1
self-benefactive aspect, *koLLu* 3.8.8
sentences, clefted 4.10
  conjunction of 4.12.1
  equational 4.0.2
  imperative 4.6
sentential adverbs 4.2.2
sequential action, prior 4.12.8
  relations, and consecutive action 4.12.4
    delayed 4.12.5
    meele with 4.12.4.1
    table of 4.12.10
'should' *beeku* 3.6.1
'should not' *kuuDadu* 3.6.2
sibilants 1.2.6.2
sikku, paradigm of 3.7.1
  regular forms of 3.7.2
simultaneous action 4.12.6
    wholly included 4.12.9
  koLLu 3.8.8
specific purpose 4.5.6
speech, direct/indirect 4.5.2
  reported 4.5.1
stem, oblique 2.3.2.2
  verb, past 3.3.1
  verbal, with final *D* and short vowel, conjugation 3.4.5.6
      i, conjugation of 3.4.5.7
    ending in *o* 3.4.5.8
    in *r* and short vowel, conjugation of 3.4.5.5
stop consonants, insertion of 1.3.7.1
subject 4.0.1
substitution of *kuuDa* 4.11.5
superlatives of adjectives 2.6.8

taane 4.11.6
tag questions 4.3.3
tenses, of 3.6.1.1
tense markers, past 3.4.3
    present 3.4.2
  and PNG, verbs marked with 3.4
  other 3.4.4
tinnu, conjugation of 3.4.5.2
togo, conjugation of 3.4.5.8
topicalizer, conditional in 4.8.5
transitive verbs, *hoogu* with 3.7.7
ttaa-iru, durative aspect 3.8.10

-uu, additive/inclusive 4.11.4
-uu, WH-interrogatives with 4.3.6.4

- verb 3.0
  - phrase, syntax of 4.0.4
  - stems 3.1
    - ending in nasal, conjugation of 3.4.5.2
    - past 3.1.1
      - irregular 3.4.3.9
- verbal aspect markers 3.8
- verbalizers 3.11
- verbal participial nouns, negative 3.5.9
  - participles, past 3.5.2
    - present 3.5.1
- verbs, adjectives derived from 2.6.2
  - aspectual 3.8
  - conjugated, examples of 3.4.5
  - dative-stative 3.7
    - paradigms of 3.7.1
  - defective 3.7
    - adjectives derived from 2.6.3
  - marked with tense and PNG 3.4
  - quotative 4.5
  - transitive, *hoogu* with 3.7.7
  - weak, past of 3.4.3.1
- verificatory *-oo* 4.11.2
- vocative case 2.3.7
- vowels, enunciative 1.3.3
- vowels, high 1.1.1
  - long, shortening of 1.3.6.1
  - low 1.1.3
  - mid 1.1.2
  - other 1.1.4
  - raising of final 1.3.8
  - reduction/deletion 1.3.6
  - replacement 1.3.9
  - sounds 1.1

- 'want' *beeku* 3.6.1
- weak verbs, conjugation of 3.4.5.1
  - past of 3.4.3.1
- WH-interrogatives with *-aadaru* 4.3.5.3
  - adjectival use of 4.3.4
  - with clitics and concessive 4.3.5
  - reduplicated 4.3.2
  - syntax of 4.3.1
  - with *-uu* 4.3.6.4
  - +VB_1 + *oo*, *a*-word VB_2 4.3.5.2
  - with *-oo* 4.3.5.1
- word-order, basic 4.0
- *y*, final, past of stems in 3.4.3.4
  - verb stems ending in, conjugation of 3.4.5.4